

**The Politics of Toleration:
Dissenters in Great Poland (1587-1648)**

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PhD Thesis



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Abstract

This thesis shows how religion and politics interacted inextricably in early modern society, by a study of the szlachta (nobility) in Great Poland under the first Waza kings, Zygmunt III (1587-1632) and Władysław IV (1632-48). Both affirmed the 1573 Warsaw Confederation, ensuring all Christians freedom of confession as equal *dissidentes de religione*. In a Europe where wars were fought over religion, Polish toleration was exceptional, with implications for understanding the early modern church and state.

Polish historiography traditionally sees the first half of the seventeenth century as the 'beginning of the end' for noble liberty including liberty of conscience, moving towards magnate oligarchy and Catholic domination, failure to reform leading to partition in the eighteenth century. This thesis shows that in Great Poland, such decline was not occurring under the first two Wazas. Regionalised government continued to function well in a diverse Commonwealth including Cossacks and German burghers, Jews and Muslims, by the 1630s the largest European state.

Religious change following the Reformation in Europe has been reinterpreted as 'confessionalisation', most notably by Heinz Schilling for the German lands. This model sees the Protestant and Catholic reformations as parallel processes, and the correlation between the development of confessional churches and state building, as a fundamental process of social change, increasing political centralisation towards the formation of the modern state. I argue that the decentralised model of religious and political authority in Poland-Lithuania made confessionalisation with state building impossible; instead the state was built on toleration. The ideals of 1573 continued, without detriment to the Commonwealth.

Great Poland, the westernmost region, is ideal to test where the limits of toleration lay in practice. Confessional diversity was affirmed in a province that welcomed immigrants, including the educational reformer Comenius. These integrated with an open elite that affirmed dissenters in religion, and active szlachta participation in government, into the mid-seventeenth century.

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Preface

This thesis has been shaped, as was the region that is its subject, by a mixture of languages and cultures. Writing about a part of Poland much influenced by Germany, in a period where Latin was still the elite language, for an English-speaking audience, is bound to lead to some confusion. To avoid as much misunderstanding as possible, I have used English names where there is a widely used equivalent; so the province I focus on is Great Poland, not *Wielkopolska*. The others are therefore Little Poland (*Małopolska*) The Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*) Royal Prussia (*Prusy Królewskie*) Mazovia (*Mazowsze*). Thus while the capital is called Warsaw, all other cities are given Polish names, even Gdańsk and Brześć, as these are the names the people in Great Poland would have given them. Personal names are also in Polish, even the royal line of the Wazas, not Vasas, since again, this is what their subjects would have called them. Non-Catholics are called dissenters in this thesis, including Orthodox, Protestants and the antitrinitarian Socinians. While the Warsaw Confederation defined all confessions as equal *dissidentes in religione*, by 1632 this had excluded Socinians; the controversy as to when the term excluded Catholics, as the normative confession, is still not settled. Thus throughout the early modern period it is easier to speak of dissenters as those who did not share the religion of the monarch, (Catholic in this thesis means Roman Catholic). Biographical details of nobles from Great Poland are found in the appendix, therefore life dates of other persons are given in the first reference in the main text.

I am especially grateful for the help of staff in my key archives in Great Poland itself; above all in the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) library in Kórnik and city archive (*Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Poznania*), also in the Adam Mickiewicz University Library and Raczyński Library in Poznań. My thanks also go to the archivists in Warsaw, especially the Central Archive (*Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych*), National Library and University Library in Warsaw. From the National Library microfilm collection, I benefited from manuscripts held at the Czartoryski and Zamoyski Libraries and Jagiellonian University in Kraków and Ossoliński Library in Wrocław.

This thesis would not have been possible without the continued support of the British Academy Arts and Humanities Research Board. I am especially grateful to the Polish government for their Postgraduate Scholarship, which enabled me to benefit from the archives. I am most grateful to the Institute of Historical Research, not only for the Scouloudi Fellowship, which saw me through writing up, but also for the stimulation and feedback of the Early Modern Europe seminar. The support, advice and patience of my supervisor Karin Friedrich, as this project developed was invaluable; thanks also to Robert Frost, particularly in helping me present my work to others. Fellow students Kate, Linda and Grace, Sally, Colin, Conny, Szabi and Silke were all there at crucial stages. Without Alwyn's listening I would never have got this far. I am indebted to the partnership of Christoph, who made the same journey from London, out east and back, to Berlin – and back. Heike's last-minute assistance, Masatake's patience and my mother's critical eye were of invaluable help through restructuring, and Ania helped me through the final phase.

Introduction

Confession was central to identity in the age of the 'Second Reformation', when church differences widened into political divisions that split the whole of Europe. Religious conflicts were not mere theological curiosities, but impacted dramatically on peoples' lives; overlapping with ethnicity, statehood and citizenship, defining friends and enemies. Confession in the early modern era was in flux, between medieval unity before a common God in Latin Christendom and modern secularism; the holy and the worldly were still inextricably interwoven, but there were different models of authority on which to base them. In early modern Europe, where church and state power were so closely related, what happened to politics in a state where plural confessions co-existed? Many states thought that by rejecting the dominant spiritual authority, dissenters questioned the secular authority too. Confessional conflicts such as the French Wars of Religion and the Thirty Years' War split the continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Such conflict did not ravage the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a vast polity embracing diverse peoples (and religions). The sixteenth century was Poland's 'Golden Age', under kings Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II August.¹ The latter's rule was the age of Copernicus and of the Renaissance poet Jan Kochanowski, while in Great Poland, leading humanist Bishop Jan Lubrański of Poznań (1456-1520), founded his Academy. These two long reigns (1506-1548 and 1548-1572) gave Poland a period of stability and consolidation, culminating in the Union of Lublin of 1569, which joined the Lithuanian and Polish diets in one Sejm (parliament), following the personal union of their crowns under the Jagiellonian dynasty. The largest state in Europe by the 1630s, Poland-Lithuania stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Its citizens included Catholics, Protestants, immigrant dissenters seeking refuge from across Europe - even Quakers - and Orthodox, Jews and Tartar Muslims, Cossacks and German burghers. Yet in the eighteenth century, Poland-Lithuania was carved up by neighbours - Protestant Prussia and Orthodox

¹ See for example Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August – król polski a wielki książę litewski* (Warszawa, 1996).

Russia – who used defending religious toleration in an uncompromisingly Catholic state as a pretext to intervene and partition.

This thesis addresses two central questions raised by the unique political and confessional nature of the Commonwealth. How long could religious plurality last in Poland-Lithuania; did a shift from toleration to a dominant Roman Catholicism take place during the seventeenth century? Arising from this, how did the political structures of the Commonwealth encourage or restrict confessional change?

These questions will be answered through the study of one province, Great Poland. The westernmost province of the Commonwealth enjoyed a unique confessional mix and strategic position. The region bordered on the lands where the Protestant and Catholic Reformations were being reinforced; Brandenburg to the north and the Habsburg territories to the south. Though Poland's current capital, Warsaw, is in Mazovia and the previous, Kraków, in Little Poland, Great Poland contained Gniezno, the first capital and seat of the Archbishop Primate, head of the Polish Catholic Church and regent between monarchs. Understanding this core province of the Polish Kingdom sharpens any perspective on how the whole Commonwealth functioned. Looking at this region will show the real impact of religious and social changes and political decisions, for example from the crown and Sejm, which are commonly believed to have affected the whole *Rzeczpospolita*. An awareness of Great Poland's difference from other provinces will clarify how far the region fits a Commonwealth-wide pattern of confessional and political change.

National policy could look very different in a regional context. Dates that appear key for the Commonwealth had different significance for Great Poland. The Commonwealth's religious toleration settlement was approved in 1573, the same year that the Jesuit College was founded in Poznań and the great Lutheran patron Łukasz Górka died. Great Poland was the *Rzeczpospolita*'s window on the west. The regional capital, Poznań, lies equidistant from Warsaw and Berlin. Catholicism and Protestantism reached Great Poland first, as did immigrants from as far as Scotland. Great Poland's leaders thus saw fit to defend the Commonwealth as a western, not a 'barbaric' eastern country. A prominent member of the region's elite, Crown Marshal of the Court Łukasz

Opaliński, developed the Commonwealth's self-image as an *antemurale christianitatis*, a bulwark of faith against the pagan east.²

The region was wealthy; the stereotype that its people are 'Scots thrown out of Scotland for being too mean' still exists today. Great Poland was one of the fastest developing parts of the Commonwealth, due to trade with its western and northern neighbours; its population grew from 700 000 in 1580 to over 800 000 by 1655. This was the most urbanised region except Royal Prussia.³ Furthermore, the szlachta (nobility) in Poznań had resident citizen status. The number of szlachta buildings in the city increased sixfold in this period.⁴

Great Poland was one of the two core 'provinces' of the Polish Kingdom, together with Little Poland. This thesis focuses mainly on the Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, due to their greater political significance and the superior source material available on these areas. Though frequent reference is also made to the eastern palatinates, Sieradz and Łęczyca, less emphasis is placed on the northern palatinates of Brześć Kujawski (Cujavia) and Inowrocław, which bordered on Royal Prussia.

Great Poland was represented politically by just five sejmiki (local diets) out of 44 in the Commonwealth, but these were disproportionately large and thus influential. Like Kraków and Sandomierz in Little Poland, Poznań and Kalisz could send six representatives to the Sejm, from their joint sejmik at Środa, whereas in Lithuania the number was limited to two and in other sejmiki the number varied from as little as one.⁵ Apart from the Środa sejmik for Poznań and Kalisz, there were sejmiki at Szadek (or Sieradz) for the Palatinate of Sieradz which sent, on average, four deputies,⁶ Łęczyca for the Łęczyca Palatinate, Radziejów for the Palatinates of Inowrocław and Brześć Kujawski and Wieluń for the territory (*ziemia*) of Wieluń and district (*powiat*) of Ostrzeszów. Of the 44 sejmiki in the whole Polish Kingdom including Royal Prussia, only 12 served one Palatinate, 19 served one territory and the rest served individual or groups of districts. In Lithuania, 19 of the 24 sejmiki

² Łukasz Opaliński, *Polonia defensa contra Ioann. Barclaium* (Gdańsk, 1648), p.115, pp.119ff., pp.135-137.

³ Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, pp.462-486, p.493.

⁴ from 38 in 1590 to 186 in 1653, see Jerzy Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Poznania* (Warszawa, 1988) p.437.

⁵ Kallas, *Historia*, p.99; Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII w.* (Warszawa, 1991), p.35.

⁶ Anna Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki za Wazów* (Opole, 1989), lists from pp.151ff.

served just one district.⁷ Great Poland was also well represented at the Senate by about a third of the bishops, palatines and, next to these in rank, the castellans. Great Poland's secular senators included 6 palatines out of 16 and 21 castellans from a total of 66 in the Commonwealth on Zygmunt III's accession.⁸ Spiritual senators included the head of the church, the Archbishop of Gniezno, and four bishoprics (Gniezno, Poznań, Włocławek and Płock) compared to one in Little Poland, at Kraków, from a total of fifteen in the Commonwealth.⁹ So Great Poland was represented by around one third of noble decision-makers in Poland-Lithuania.

Not only the Catholic, but also other churches were important in shaping this political voice. Non-Catholics in Great Poland were mostly Lutheran, with a Socinian minority. The Czech Brethren united with the fourth non-Catholic church, a handful of regional Calvinists, making one Reformed church. This union in 1627 prefigured the Commonwealth one in 1634. In contrast, Calvinists dominated Protestant confessions in the rest of the Commonwealth; their Lithuanian churches had legal status but in Little Poland they were less secure.¹⁰

The Reformation had spread rapidly in a Commonwealth already familiar with religious difference; its most popular historian, Janusz Tazbir, coined the phrase "a state without stakes" to describe the extraordinarily non-violent, indeed bloodless, extension of Protestantism.¹¹ In Poznań, capital of Great Poland, the number of Catholic churches halved with the Reformation.¹²

Poland-Lithuania thus stood out in Europe because of her liberty of conscience, within the framework of the 1573 Warsaw Confederation. This remarkable settlement stated that all Christians, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox, were equal *dissidentes in religione*. The Confederation applied only

⁷ Kriegeisen, *Sejmiki*, pp.27ff.

⁸ Stanisław Kutrzeba, "The Composition of the Polish Sejm" in Władysław Czapliński (ed.), *The Polish Parliament at the Summit of its Development* (Wrocław, 1985), pp.11ff; Adam Bieniaszewski (ed.), *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI-XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1987), pp.6ff. Gniezno, Wieluń, and the six Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, Sieradz and Łęczyca, Inowrocław and Brześć Kujawski also had their own castellans. Great Poland also had castellans for the following areas: Biechowo, Kamień, Krzywiń, Łąd, Międzyrzecz, Nakło, Przemyśl, Rogoźno, Santok, Śrem, and the Starosta of Nakło also had Castellan status.

⁹ Schramm, *Der polnische Adel*, p.93.

¹⁰ Stanisław Tworek, "Staranie o ujednoliczenie obrządku kalwińskiego w Polsce XVII w." in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 16 (1971), pp.117-139.

¹¹ His classic account was soon translated into English: Janusz Tazbir, *A State without Stakes* (Warszawa, 1973).

¹² Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce t.2 XVI-XVIII w.* (Kraków, 1969), p.297.

to the szlachta; thus they could also sway their subjects on their property if they so chose. While it did not cover non-nobles and aroused controversy from its inception, the Confederation was nevertheless a significant and lasting commitment to religious peace.

The toleration settlement was made possible through the szlachta's understanding of their liberties. Directly following the Confederation, the Henrician Articles defined szlachta rights and responsibilities. The articles, formulated for the accession of Henri Valois (1551-1579) to the Polish throne, consolidated liberties gained over the past century through the 'execution of the laws' movement, including for example exemption from taxation. The first milestone was the 1505 *nihil novi* statute; thereafter nothing new could be added to laws without szlachta approval. In 1572 the death of the last Jagiellonian king led to a royal election described as an 'auction' for the candidate offering nobles the most; it established a new system of electing monarchs.¹³ Thus szlachta influence increased when the crown changed hands; they governed during interregna. Under the article '*de non praestanda oboedientia*' the nobles could legally oppose the king in a *rokosz* if he did not fulfil his obligations.¹⁴

The articles and Confederation together formed the *Pacta Conventa*, which were renewed by each successive monarch on ascending the throne. These affirmed the Commonwealth mixed form of government by three estates; the monarch ruled in partnership with the szlachta, senators and non-senators. The *Pacta Conventa* thus committed each monarch to share ruling with the szlachta: this included both confessional authority through the Warsaw Confederation and political authority in the Henrician Articles.

The szlachta is thus deservedly the subject of this study as the most important political estate in the *Rzeczpospolita*; around 8% of the Commonwealth population were szlachta, holding three quarters of its land. The voice of the cities was limited; though provincial capitals sent representatives to the Sejm, even these could not vote. The szlachta, crown

¹³ Fedorowicz (ed.), *A Republic of Nobles*, p.110.

¹⁴ Juliusz Bardach (ed.), *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego* (Warszawa, 1976), p.219.

and church owned towns.¹⁵ Szlachta dominated all cities; noble privilege circumscribed both the political and economic activity of the burghers.¹⁶ A British observer was impressed with szlachta power over the peasants and royal inability to restrict noble freedom.¹⁷ The szlachta of the Commonwealth were diverse, in wealth and position, religious, ethnic and regional affiliation. Yet they were equal before the law, sharing common freedoms under the *Pacta Conventa*. They also shared a common origin myth, tracing their heritage to the Sarmatian tribes, supposedly a Slavic descendant of Scythian settlers from the east.¹⁸ This myth was also found in Hungary, Bohemia and Russia, and was highly adaptable to changes in Poland-Lithuania, surviving into the eighteenth century. It affirmed the nobility as an exclusive caste and politically justified eastern expansion.¹⁹

Aided by the devolution of government to the szlachta, it was under Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II August that the Protestant reformations made an impact. From the beginning, Lutheranism entered the Commonwealth easily, especially in Royal Prussia and in the western towns of Great Poland, where German populations and trade links eased its spread. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albrecht von Hohenzollern (1490-1548), became the first ruler to convert to Lutheranism and established a secular state in 1525, at the same time affirming his loyalty to the Polish Crown. In Great Poland, by 1525 the capital of Poznań was already choosing German and Polish Lutheran preachers for which the city paid. Six cities officially converted to Lutheranism in Great Poland; Wschowa, Międzyrzecz, Wałcz, Brójce, Skwierzyna and Czaplinek. The influence of starostas was crucial in supporting the reformation since noble influence on towns was so strong. In these six cities, the starosta himself or his approval of the city council were crucial. Cities where burghers had more control, choosing the city council annually, converted earlier, as did Wschowa in 1523. In contrast, the

¹⁵ Kraków, Wilno and Lwów sent envoys, but Poznań and Warsaw only did to election and convocation Sejms. 70% of towns were privately owned, the rest were royal. Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty 1569-1772* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.50-52.

¹⁶ Maria Bogucka, "Polish towns between the 16th and 18th centuries" in Julian Fedorowicz (ed.), *A Republic of Nobles* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.146-148.

¹⁷ Attributed to Englishman George Carew, but possibly the Scot William Bruce, *Relation on the State of Polonia* (1598) in Stanisław Lubieniecki ed. George Williams, *Historia Reformationis Poloniae* (Amsterdam, 1685, Minneapolis, 1995), pp.391-392.

¹⁸ Tadeusz Mankowski, *Genealogia Sarmatyzmu* (Warszawa, 1946), pp.16-19.

¹⁹ Cynarski, "Sarmatian Ideology", pp.6-10.

influence of the Catholic General Starosta of Great Poland was instrumental in preventing Poznań's wholesale conversion.²⁰

Calvinism was the most successful Protestant confession among the szlachta of Poland-Lithuania, spreading from the 1540s. The first Calvinist synod in 1554 ruled that szlachta could keep tithes, following mass non-payment of rents by the nobles. The new religion was well represented politically. At its zenith in 1558, 20% of the szlachta in the Lower House of the Sejm and a majority of the Senate were Protestants in 1569.²¹ Three years previously, plans for a national church were drawn up by leading Calvinist nobles such as Hieronim Ossoliński (d.1576), Castellan of Sandomierz in Little Poland and Rafał Leszczyński, the Castellan of Śrem in Great Poland, at the Piotrków Sejm. They envisaged a church with communion in both kinds, clerical marriage and Polish language services – perhaps not so different to the solution which Elizabeth I reached with her Church of England – but failed to secure approval from Rome. In 1555, the year of the Peace of Augsburg, the Polish Reformed szlachta declared their intercommunion with the Czech Brethren. A year later, the first joint synod of all Protestant churches in Poland-Lithuania was held, at Pinczów in 1556.

The Lutheran and Calvinist reformations were not the only ones to reach the Commonwealth. In 1562 the so-called 'Minor Church' separated from the Calvinist mainstream. These 'radical reformers' and anti-Trinitarians became known as the Polish Brethren or Socinians, under their Italian leader Fausto Sozzini, who arrived in Poland in 1579. Another Reformed alternative were the Czech Brethren, who arrived as exiles, settling in Leszno in 1550. A further wave of immigration into Great Poland came from Brandenburg, Pomerania, the Czech lands and Silesia, fleeing the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), in which the *Rzeczpospolita* was officially neutral. The Czech Brethren were expelled by the Habsburg emperor in 1628 and settled mainly in Ostroróg and Leszno. Lutherans also came from Silesia, some Polish but mostly German, and they founded new communities, accepted by szlachta of all confessions on their estates.²² There were also Catholics among the exiles from the Habsburg

²⁰ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa, "Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast królewskich Wielkopolski" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce 10* (1965), pp.53-80

²¹ Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w epoce nowożytnej* (Lublin, 1994), pp.42-47.

²² Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", pp.567-568; Rhode, *Geschichte* pp.72ff.

Empire; over a hundred such Jesuits arrived in Poland from 1618-48.²³ The contribution of the refugees who arrived in Great Poland to the life of the region and the Commonwealth as a whole was vast. Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius, 1592-1670), the leader of the Czech Brethren in Poland, was recognised across Europe for his educational and scientific theories, and travelled from his model school in Leszno to England and Sweden to expound his ideas.²⁴ Until their defeat in the Battle of White Mountain in 1621, Czech Brethren supplied their fellows in Polish exile with books in Czech; Comenius left Great Poland in 1651 for Hungary.²⁵ Their Academy was rebuilt after the Deluge in 1662, remaining Protestant until the conversion of Stanisław Leszczyński to Catholicism, and closed when it was burnt down in 1707.

Catholic Reformation is the term used here rather than Counter Reformation; the changes in the Catholic Church inspired by the Council of Trent are thus understood not only as a negative reaction to Protestantism, but as church renewal and definition of doctrine from within, a process that was not so different from the reformations of Luther and Calvin, as the discussion on confessionalisation below will show. Catholic reformers – advocates of Tridentine reform and seeking to restore the Catholic Church and limit the threat to it they perceived in other denominations – made significant inroads in Poland as early as in the mid-sixteenth century. While the leading humanist canon Stanisław Orzechowski took a wife and advocated clerical marriage, Polish Cardinal Hosius (1504-1579) became president of the Council of Trent. His *Confessio fidei Catholicae Christiana* (1551) was a pivotal text for Catholic reformers. In 1565 the Jesuit Order entered Poland and has established 1200 monastic houses by their expulsion in 1774.

Yet the combined strength of non-Catholic szlachta counterbalanced the advances of the Catholic Reformation. The only person condemned to death for heresy in the sixteenth century was Katarzyna Wajglowa, burned not for Protestantism but for her 'Judaismatism' (arguing that the Old Testament was the main scriptural authority) in 1539. Though Zygmunt I issued edicts against heresy, the only time these were acted on was in Gdańsk in 1526 when the army was called in to suppress a conflict between the population

²³ Entry on foreigners in Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia*, p.103.

²⁴ Zbigniew Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl społeczna XVII w. - 700 Lat Myśli Polskiej* (Warszawa, 1979), p.228.

²⁵ Alolda Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki w okresie Renesansu* (Wrocław, 1975), p.322, p.357.

and patricate. A heresy edict was passed in 1550, reacting to the Zwinglian Michał Oleśnicki's (d.c.1567) establishment of a congregation and attacks on the Pauline church in Kraków. The challenge to this edict from 1551 onwards had significant success. In 1565, the szlachta passed a Sejm constitution forbidding starostas to enforce the decisions of ecclesiastical courts on matters of faith. This was a legal milestone on the way to the toleration settlement of 1573.

How long could toleration last? Ironically, the very conditions that allowed confessional difference to thrive have also been blamed for its decline. Tazbir describes the Reformation as a "great intellectual adventure" for the Polish nobility, who soon rejected it when it was no longer compatible with their advantage as an estate; he argues that the political influence of dissenters declined in the seventeenth century. He sees szlachta interest in the Reformation as political, not religious, and therefore brief, allowing the Counter Reformation to gain ground easily.²⁶ This century saw increasing tumults (confessional unrest and riots). Though these focused on attacking church property rather than people, they still mark a change from the initial religious peace.²⁷

It is still possible to speak of working freedom of confession in Poland until the first decades of the eighteenth century, when dissenter rights were severely restricted. A key setback was the Silent Sejm of 1717, after which dissenters' freedom of worship and office holding declined.²⁸ Enlightenment Europe certainly condemned Poland for its intolerance. While the sixteenth-century Rzeczpospolita had been a haven for 'radical reformers' including Anabaptists and Socinians, by the eighteenth century Prussia and Russia were using defence of toleration as a pretext to interfere in Commonwealth affairs, leading to partition in the 1790s.

²⁶ Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1993), p.251; idem., "Znaczenie XVII w. w procesie unarodowienia polskiego katolicyzmu" in *Pamiętnik X zjazdu historyków polskich* (1968), pp.212-224 (p.221), idem, *Państwo bez stosów* (Warszawa, 1967), p.267.

²⁷ Wacław Sobieski, *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta IIIgo* (Warszawa, 1902) is the classic account.

²⁸ Mariusz Markiewicz, "The functioning of the Monarchy during the Reigns of the Electors of Saxony 1697-1763" in Richard Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context c.1500-1795* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp.172-192 (pp.182-183).

Poles seeking an explanation for their country's decline found a turning point in the reign of Zygmunt III Waza (1587-1632). The 'Silver Age' of Zygmunt III and his son Władysław IV Waza (1632-1648) stood in the shadow of the 'Golden Age' of the last two Jagiellonians. As early as 1789, the playwright Michał Krajewski described Zygmunt's election as the beginning of Poland's misfortune.²⁹ By the nineteenth century, the Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz summarised: "Under the last Jagiellonian kings the power of the szlachta estate was founded and matured; from then on it becomes the historian's main subject. The growth and exploitation of this power, and the final tyrannical overruling of the other estates... the violation of ancient rights which were the foundation of the *Rzeczpospolita*, the introduction of religious reform and the beginning of moral and spiritual anarchy characterise the Waza period."³⁰ This is the version of history that most Poles still learn at school.

The view that political and religious narrowing began under Zygmunt III has shaped historiography ever since, and the debate on his reign is far from closed. Early modern Poland-Lithuania was the last independent Polish state before 1989, apart from the short-lived second republic between the world wars. Not surprisingly, the Commonwealth has been mythologised and demonised by Polish historians looking for a better past, and trying to explain why they lost it with the third partition in 1795. A strong historiographical thread spans the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, describing a szlachta that selfishly refused to give up its liberties for reform or to strengthen royal authority as the key weakness which made the Commonwealth vulnerable to partition.³¹ This process became an example of the phase of absolutism between feudalism and capitalism in the Marxist-Leninist histories of the Polish People's Republic.³²

Zygmunt III is still widely thought to have gathered Poland-Lithuania under the Counter Reformation banner, creating a Catholic Senate (the Upper House of the Sejm), undermining toleration, and favouring a closed elite over the

²⁹ See Henryk Wisner, *Zygmunt III Waza* (Wrocław, 1991) p.229.

³⁰ "Nota o sposobie napisania historii polskiej" in Adam Mickiewicz ed. Jan Maślanka, *Dzieła tom VII: Pisma historyczne, wykłady lozańskie* (Warszawa, 1997), p.141.

³¹ Most recently, see Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, "Polish views on European Monarchies" in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy*, pp.117-129.

³² Jan Adamus, "Nowe badania nad dziejami sejmu polskiego i geneza liberum veto" in *Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne* 13 nr. 1 (1961), pp.169-186 (p.172).

mass of szlachta.³³ He was famed for playing football in Wawel while dissenter communities were attacked in the city of Kraków below.³⁴ Zygmunt's biographer Henryk Wisner concludes that while he managed to work well with his Senate, his relations with the Chamber of Envoys (the Lower House of the Sejm) were worse and he thus failed to push through reforms such as that of the treasury. Though his biographer is also keen to stress examples of royal toleration towards other confessions, noting his patronage of some dissenter leaders and the royal approval for the building of a mosque in Mińsk, his success in reviving the Catholic Church appeared far greater.³⁵ According to Mieczysław Korolko, toleration was floundering by the 1610s. Władysław IV's reign is notable only for prominent cases against the Socinians, such as the reaction to the Raków tumult of 1638.³⁶ Władysław IV was perceived by contemporaries more tolerant and took power more smoothly than his father had.³⁷ Yet his continued designs on the Swedish throne and plans for war with the Ottomans were also unpopular, losing him much of the early respect he enjoyed.³⁸ Thus he too seemed unable to introduce structural reforms, as more recent historiography still concludes.³⁹

This thesis tests the argument that the Catholic Reformation won such an early and easy victory under Zygmunt III and his son Władysław IV. It focuses on areas relatively neglected by current historiography. The first half takes a detailed look at the politics of toleration one province, Great Poland, considering all confessions there together as part of a political whole for the first time. Closer examination of toleration legislation and practice in Great Poland and beyond shows that dissenters improved their position under Władysław. In contrast to Tazbir's view, szlachta commitment to non-Catholic churches was more than a passing trend. These confessions remained more tenacious, and more politically important than is generally acknowledged. The

³³ Anna Filipczak-Kocur, "Walka o rozdawnictwo urzędów za Zygmunta III" in Henryk Samsonowicz (ed.), *Władza i społeczeństwo w XVI i XVII w.* (Warszawa, 1989), pp.232-247; Leszek Jarmański, *Bez użycia siły: działalność protestantów w Rzeczypospolitej u schyłku XVI w.* (Warszawa, 1992); Jarema Maciszewski, *Szlachta polska i jej państwo* (Warszawa, 1986); Antoni Mączak, *Klientela* (Warszawa, 1994); Andrzej Wyczański, *Polska Rzecz Pospolita Szlachecka* (Warszawa, 1965), pp.233-234.

³⁴ Eugeniusz Barwiński, "Zygmunt III a dysydenci" in *Reformacja w Polsce* 1 nr. 1 (1921), pp.51-65 (pp.51-52).

³⁵ Wisner, *Zygmunt III*, pp.220-222; on Catholic revival, see also Marian Kallas, *Historia ustroju Polski X-XX w.* (Warszawa, 1996), pp.126-128.

³⁶ Mieczysław Korolko, *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia: Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej 1573-1658* (Warszawa, 1974) p.109.

³⁷ Wyczański, *Polska*, p.257.

³⁸ Władysław Czapliński, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warszawa, 1972), pp.353ff.; Henryk Wisner, *Władysław IV Waza* (Wrocław, 1995), p.176.

second half focuses on two crucial events for church politics in the *Rzeczpospolita* which deserve much more attention; the Rokosz of Sandomierz, the civil war and rising against the king in 1606-1609, and the *compositio inter status*, the settlement reached between the clerical and noble estates in 1635, are examined in separate chapters. These analyses assert that confessional and political pluralism were alive and well under both the first two Wazas until 1648. The evidence indicates that toleration lasted longer and was more persistent in Poland, particularly in Great Poland, than previous literature has suggested.

The new approach taken here is to apply recent work on how the *Rzeczpospolita* functioned politically in the seventeenth century to religion. The maintenance of a devolved, and functioning, political system in the Commonwealth was essential for sustaining a devolved, plural approach to confessional differences. Challenges to the theory of Commonwealth decline, emphasising the szlachta role in government, do not explore what this means for confessional relations.⁴⁰ The most eminent nineteenth-century historians, Michał Bobrzyński and Joachim Lelewel, could not agree as to whether szlachta liberties had really led to 'anarchy' and the disintegration of the state. This restored interest in the republican reforms that came too late to save Poland.⁴¹ The Commonwealth is widely believed to have undergone institutional ossification in the seventeenth century, as - unlike other states - it was not forced to modify under pressure of war.⁴² The crux of the argument for declining szlachta involvement in affairs of state is the decentralisation of power, which one historiographical school sees as making Poland-Lithuania ultimately ungovernable, leading to 'anarchy'. This view is based on the devolution of power away from the Sejm to local sejmiki: "Szlachta self-rule, which should have been the basis of a well-governed *Rzeczpospolita*, only worsened the internal chaos."⁴³ The sejmiki share of government increased to an executive role during the period from 1572-1648. This could threaten

³⁹ Maria Rhode, *Ein Königreich ohne König – Der kleinpolnische Adel in sieben Interregna* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p.194.

⁴⁰ Henryk Wisner, "Kilka uwag o sejmie i konstytucjach sejmowych pierwszej połowy XVII w." in *Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne* 22 nr. 2 (1970), pp.177-185; Jan Seredyka, *Rzeczpospolita w ostatnich latach Zygmunta III* (Opole, 1978), pp.211-212.

⁴¹ Lelewel's Romantic "historiophilosophy" first published in 1815 was challenged by Bobrzyński in his "Dzieje" (1879); see Jan Adamus, *O kierunkach polskiej myśli historycznej* (Łódź, 1964), pp.56-57, pp.74-78.

⁴² Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, "Obowiązki i prawa królów polskich w opiniach pisarzy Odrodzenia" in idem. (ed.), *Miedzy monarchą a demokracją – studia z dziejów Polski XV-XVIII w.* (Warszawa, 1994), pp.54-115 (p.100).

⁴³ Krystyn Matwijowski (ed.), *Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej* (Wrocław, 1988), p.159.

Commonwealth unity, as sejmiki limited their envoys' power to act without their consent.⁴⁴ Władysław Konopczyński's classic study of the *liberum veto* epitomised this view, noting that from Stefan Batory's reign (1576-1586) the crown attempted to replace unanimity with majority voting in the Sejm, blocked by an 'obdurate' szlachta unable to accept the need for reform.⁴⁵

Yet devolution did not mean destruction; more recently szlachta republicanism has been reread as a lasting, positive concern for good government. The noble ideology of Sarmatism, portraying the szlachta as an elite born to rule, has also been disassociated from Commonwealth decline.⁴⁶ The theory that Commonwealth reform failed in the seventeenth century with fatal results is challenged here, presenting Great Poland as part of a working political system. The lower house of the Sejm was prepared to work with the king, and the Senate often mediated effectively between the two estates. The spirit of compromise and flexibility continued; only in the second half of the seventeenth century did the Sejm begin to malfunction.⁴⁷ The szlachta were involved in central government, without restricting themselves to local issues. Under Władysław IV, the Sejm passed 739 laws; just 86 were on private matters, while a third (228) concerned the whole *Rzeczpospolita*.⁴⁸ This thesis will show the szlachta in Great Poland remained politically engaged on both a regional and national level under Zygmunt and Władysław.

The key question is, if szlachta liberty appears to have survived without 'anarchy', did liberty of conscience survive too? Since the Commonwealth model of mixed government with a politically active szlachta still held under the first two Wazas, it is also reasonable to suggest that the religious model of toleration may have held for just as long.

⁴⁴ Adolf Pawiński, *Rządy sejmikowe w Polsce* (1st ed. 1888, Warszawa, 1978), p.435, pp.441-445.

⁴⁵ Władysław Konopczyński, *Librium veto* (Kraków, 1918), pp.224ff.

⁴⁶ See Karin Friedrich, "Nobles, Burghers and the Monarchy in Poland-Lithuania" in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy*, pp.93-115 (pp.102-105); Stanisław Cynarski, "The Shape of Sarmatian Ideology in Poland" in *Acta Poloniae Historica* 19 (1968), pp.5-17 (p.15); Janusz Pelc, "Sarmatyzm i Barok" in 9 idem. (ed.), *Problemy literatury staropolskiej* (Wrocław, 1972), p.126.

⁴⁷ Władysław Czapliński, "Z problematyki sejmku polskiego w pierwszej połowie XVII w." in *Kwartalnik historyczny* 77 nr. 1 (1970), pp.31-45 (pp.42-45); Maria Pryshlak, *The Wellordered State in the Political Philosophy of the Polish Aristocracy* (Columbia University Dissertation, 1981), pp.84ff.; Stefania Ochmann, "Od stabilizacji do kryzysu władzy królewskiej – państwo Wazów" in Sucheni-Grabowska (ed.), *Między monarchią*, pp.211-269.

⁴⁸ Sybilla Holdys, *Praktyka parlamentarna za panowania Władysława IV Wazy* (Wrocław, 1991), pp.135-137, p.200, pp.221-222.

According to the 1573 settlement, each monarch promised to “defend and maintain peace and tranquillity” between the subjects of the Polish-Lithuanian Crown. Religious peace was indeed a priority and key argument for toleration, acceptable even to clerics who ardently supported Catholic reform on Tridentine lines and sought to restrict non-Catholic proselytising. Poland could justly be proud of the absence of bloodshed as a result of the church reformations on her territory. Monarchs were most active in condemning tumults (confessional conflicts and riots). They sought to ensure that the perpetrators were put to justice through royal commissions, which were set up to investigate such unrest. So toleration could be understood as keeping religious differences out of the public sphere, rather than affirming them.

Yet liberty of conscience is more than an imposed and uneasy absence of violence; in Poland-Lithuania there were signs of not just passive tolerance, but also of active toleration. The szlachta were prepared to allow fellow nobles from other confessions both full political participation and the liberty to worship according to other church traditions, in their own church buildings. Yet proselytising by all confessions was disapproved as a cause of unrest and as a result, the right of non-Catholics to worship in public became an increasingly controversial issue. The level of non-Catholic representation in positions of power, holding local and court office, as Sejm deputies and speakers, as managers of royal estates and as private landowners, will indicate how much toleration impacted on practical politics. The 1573 settlement helped preserve places of worship for all confessions, both in cities and on szlachta lands, where nobles often tolerated churches of confessions other than their own.

Thus toleration is understood in this thesis to be an acceptance of confessional difference, which allows people of different confessions not only a pragmatic freedom ‘from’ but also a principled freedom ‘to’. Liberty of conscience is thus understood to be freedom from violence, the freedom to worship and the freedom to hold public office. The theoretical framework, the principles within which toleration was placed, are most important. The extent of noble toleration did vary from bare acceptance of the need to preserve public order to active affirmation of confessional diversity, making denomination no barrier to full involvement in society. By looking at what

szlachta wrote and published to define liberty of conscience themselves, what they said and voted on in the Sejm and sejmiki (local diets), this thesis will show that the noble understanding of toleration sustained and supported confessional diversity under the first two Wazas.

Sustaining toleration was a challenge in a period where confessional diversity seemed to be declining across Europe. For one school of German historians the turn of the seventeenth century was a period of 'confessionalisation'. Confessionalisation was a process of religious and social change by which churches drew lines of difference from each other. The term was coined to explain the emergence of denominational conflicts in the German context. Heinz Schilling sought to understand the religious transformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth century by overcoming the dualistic understanding of Protestant Reform versus Catholic Counter Reformation.⁴⁹ Instead he sees parallel processes of confessional identities forming, which took essentially the same course in all the different churches. The key means by which churches forged their confessional identity was, according to Schilling, by allying with state powers to enforce their agenda. A second, 'top-down' reformation around 1580-1620 was implemented by a new generation of educated people backed by ruling dynasties. This had dramatic political implications, increasing the central power of the ruler and laying the foundations of the modern state. Thus confessionalisation is tied to state building and the formation of modern politics, coupled with other processes of rationalisation such as increased taxation for war, on the way to creating a centralised bureaucracy and powerful military apparatus. State building is understood to be strengthening the structures of authority; ruling dynasties or city governments expanded their sphere of influence, integrated and consolidated control over their territories by supporting church reform.

Such a model of confessionalisation 'from above', through state building and centralisation to the mutual advantage of the spiritual and secular authorities, sits ill with a Commonwealth ruled by diverse jurisdictions. Confessionalisation could however also occur 'from below' as peoples' confession became a more important part of their identity, and outside interference in confessional matters, from the state or otherwise, was

⁴⁹ Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the emergence of Early Modern Society* (Leiden, 1992).

increasingly resisted. Marc Forster has challenged the concept of confessionalisation in alliance with state building. His study of confessions in Southwest Germany shows that the process of religious change does not always fit this model, even within the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁰ Confessionalisation was slow to work in areas like the Diocese of Speyer where there was a balance of churches, none of which was strong enough to overcome the others, and of secular powers, which needed to take different interests into consideration. Here, the fault lines between denominations developed only in the late seventeenth century, exacerbated by the divisions into confessional camps in the Thirty Years' War. Forster stresses the importance of forces shaping confessional identity from both above and below; a parish priest, for example, could not impose the orders of the hierarchy in isolation but also needed the support of his congregation. For church transformation to reach the grass roots, it needed the active participation of believers.

Forster thus raises important problems with Schilling's definition of confessionalisation for the Polish context. A process of religious change that is closely tied to state building will not work in the same way when territorial, centralised state building does not occur. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, like the Holy Roman Empire, was a complex alliance of multiple confessional and territorial entities. The Polish state appeared to be getting weaker, not stronger as confessional identities formed, more in tune with Forster's Speyer, where confessionalisation began to emerge in the Thirty Years' War, than with Schilling's image of confessionalisation at the turn of the seventeenth century. Poland-Lithuania was increasingly subject to interference from her neighbours, eventually leading to partition in the eighteenth century, at a time when Catholicism had become the dominant Christian confession in Poland. Confessional unity thus became a substitute rather than a support for state unity in the Commonwealth.

The connection between confessionalisation and a strong, centralised state is epitomised by social discipline. A further contributor to the confessionalisation paradigm is Wolfgang Reinhard, who draws out social discipline as a key

⁵⁰ Marc Forster, *The Counter Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Archbishopric of Speyer 1560-1770* (London, 1992).

aspect of defining confessional boundaries. Social discipline, ensuring moral behaviour and theological orthodoxy, took many forms, be it synods, censorship or education. Through extending their structures of social discipline, churches defined the beliefs of their congregations, drawing ever-clearer lines of denominational difference.⁵¹ Yet even in the German lands social discipline was not dependent on territorial government. A balance of interests between localities and centre allowed confessionalisation to take place without state building, led by the local community. This holds true elsewhere in Europe.⁵² State building is traditionally explained as the search for order and unity in the face of confessional war; enforcing religious orthodoxy, or social discipline, was thus its first task. State power and security would be furthered through greater taxation for war, meaning increased administration. Yet even the most 'absolute' monarchs had to rely on their estates to some degree, realising the importance of consultation and consent.⁵³

The de-coupling of confessionalisation and state building seems to be the rule, rather than the exception; East Central European countries separated the two by devolving government in state and church.⁵⁴ The Commonwealth was part of a wider East Central European trend of exceptional noble liberty, plural reformations and confessional co-operation, in which Protestantism did not establish effective long-term structures. In these countries, confessionalisation was not a foundation stone of the modern state, since elective monarchy, politically participative regions and noble confessional self-determination on their lands meant that church changes could not be imposed from the centre.⁵⁵ When the estates were curbed by Habsburg rule, crown and Catholicism triumphed in Bohemia after White Mountain in 1620, though in

⁵¹ Wolfgang Reinhard (ed.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Heidelberg, 1995).

⁵² Heinrich Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung" in *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 nr. 3 (1997), pp.639-682.

⁵³ See Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism* (London, 1992) reviewed by Heinz Duchhardt, "Absolutismus – Abschied von einem Epochenbegriff?" in *Historische Zeitschrift* 258 nr. 1 (1994), pp.113-122; Heinz Duchhardt, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (München, 1998), pp.37ff., pp.57-67.

⁵⁴ East Central Europe is difficult enough to define, but here I take it to mean the lands from the eastern part of the Holy Roman Empire (not including today's Germany) to those west of Muscovy (now Russia). My focus apart from the *Rzeczpospolita* will be on Bohemia, Moravia, and the Hungarian lands (including Royal Hungary and Transylvania).

⁵⁵ Winfried Eberhard, "Voraussetzungen und strukturelle Grundlagen der Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa" and Michael Müller, "Diskussionsbilanz" in Joachim Bahlcke (ed.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp.89-104, pp.413-418 (pp.101-102, p.417); Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Raumtypologie und Ständeverfassung. Betrachtungen zur vergleichenden Verfassungsgeschichte am ostmitteleuropäischen Beispiel" in Bahlcke (ed.), *Ständefreiheit*, pp.283-310 (p.292, p.295).

the Hungarian Protestant princes resisted this for longer.⁵⁶ Poland-Lithuania is distinguished from her neighbours by the fact that Catholicism took longer to gain the upper hand. Indeed in the *Rzeczpospolita*, co-existence was normal in a state that was multi-confessional long before the Reformation.⁵⁷ Joseph Lecler sees toleration of difference, rather than confessional homogenisation, as a key stage in modern state building. This would fit the Commonwealth, where mixed government was based on balancing differences.⁵⁸

This thesis will test the evidence for confessionalisation taking place in Great Poland, attempting to determine how far state, particularly royal, authority was a motor for religious change. It will seek indications that exclusive church identities were forming, as churches and their members rejected people, beliefs and practices seen to belong to other denominations. Confessions were formed from both above and below, but were not of necessity antagonistic towards each other.

Confessionalisation and state building were exceptional in Poland-Lithuania. The szlachta called their state a Republic (*Rzeczpospolita* or *res publica*), though it had a monarch. As Germanico Malaspina (1550-1604), papal nuncio to Poland, observed in 1598, this state was neither a republic nor an absolute monarchy, but something in between. Crown, Senate and non-senatorial szlachta needed to agree in order to govern. This made the nuncio's job more difficult; he could not just lobby the monarch, but needed the szlachta on his side too, and many of them were 'heretics'. Thus for him, promoting Catholicism had a clear political value; he hoped that an alliance with the Habsburgs would help to achieve this.⁵⁹ This thesis seeks to determine whether toleration and mixed government could stave off confessionalisation and central state building together, sustaining the *Rzeczpospolita* ideal of devolved authority in church and state.

⁵⁶ Andrew Pettegree and Karin Maag's introductory chapter in Karin Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (St. Andrews, 1997), pp.1-18 (p.14, p.17).

⁵⁷ Robert Evans (ed.), *Crown, Church and Estates* (London, 1991), p.xix; Winfried Eberhard, "Die Reformation in Böhmen, Ungarn und Polen" in Joachim Bahlcke (ed.), *Ständefreiheit und Staatsgestaltung in Ostmitteleuropa* (Leipzig, 1996), pp.187-216, (p.190, p.205, p.215).

⁵⁸ Joseph Lecler, *Toleration and the Reformation* (New York, 1960), p.505.

⁵⁹ Malaspina's relation on Poland (1598) in Erazm Rykaczewski, *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce 1548-1690* (Paris, 1864), pp.75-77.

To ascertain this, key events under Zygmunt and Władysław need to be reconsidered. The Rokosz of Sandomierz is commonly perceived as the 'beginning of the end' of the political challenge to a Counter Reforming crown, yet the demands of this rising were largely met over the following decades. The only detailed analysis of the *rokosz* is overdue for reinterpretation. Maciszewski, in his Marxist-Leninist, unfinished work of 1955, sees the 'feudal' forces of crown, elite and religious hierarchy overcoming 'szlachta democracy' in the *rokosz*, where the ideals of 1573 failed. This unholy alliance of spiritual and secular authorities undermined Commonwealth plurality, trying and failing to impose reform from the centre. The *rokosz* thus divided the elite from ordinary szlachta, destroying the unity of the estate.⁶⁰ The *rokosz* also 'failed' to affirm toleration.⁶¹ The only study of Great Poland in the rising relies on this analysis, and excludes the key palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz.⁶² A new interpretation of the *rokosz* here will place it in the context of noble protests across East Central Europe, to show how Habsburg absolutism and confessionalising Catholicism were resisted as a negative model for the Commonwealth and Great Poland, throughout opposition to the first two Wazas.

In contrast to the opposition Zygmunt III faced, his son Władysław realised the advantage of being perceived as listening to his szlachta, regardless of confession. Key evidence for this is the final resolution, with papal approval, of the *compositio inter status* in 1635, settling decades of conflict between the szlachta and clergy over jurisdictional authority. This was a hot issue for contemporaries for sixty years, yet is almost ignored by the historiography to date. Korolko stresses the importance of the *compositio* for the Confederation's advocates from 1573, justifiably noting that the Catholic Church would resist a settlement which limited their economic privilege to the hilt.⁶³ Yet he fails to note that a settlement was reached. While Jan Dziegielewski acknowledges that dissenters made important gains under Władysław IV, he sees the *compositio* as a closing of Catholic clergy and lay ranks to the detriment of non-Catholics.⁶⁴ The close analysis in this study of how the settlement was

⁶⁰ Jarema Maciszewski, *Wojna domowa w Polsce* (Wrocław, 1960).

⁶¹ Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.101ff.

⁶² Zofia Libiszowska, "Województwo sieradzkie i łęczyckie w latach rokosza Zebrzydowskiego" in *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego seria 1 n.30* (1963), pp.61-75.

⁶³ Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.141.

⁶⁴ Jan Dziegielewski, *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych* (Warszawa, 1986), p.209.

reached, and then implemented in Great Poland, suggests otherwise. After the *compositio*, Władysław then called an inter-church dialogue, the Colloquium Charitativum of 1645. Thus a more natural end to Commonwealth plurality appears to be the Deluge (*Potop*), the civil war and Swedish invasion of 1655-60. In Great Poland at least, the whole first half of the seventeenth century enjoyed more cohesive government and confessional harmony than the historiography generally acknowledges, as this analysis will seek to show.

Great Poland's distinctiveness has been overlooked as borders shifted, sources were lost and history was rewritten. Histories of the early modern Commonwealth focus on Little Poland and Lithuania, while in the partition period, confessional studies in particular overemphasised the region's Germanic identity.⁶⁵ Yet research into the political and confessional reality of the province has already changed the way in which historians think about the entire Commonwealth. Edward Opaliński has shown that the nobility in Great Poland is characterised by co-operation across the estate. He then extended his research to other provinces, to conclude that the szlachta was politically engaged and constructively involved in government across the Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁶ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa's study of the Czech Brethren redrew the picture of church life in Poland-Lithuania. This Reformed confession, originating in immigration, from Bohemia, had its Polish base in Great Poland, where it far outnumbered the Calvinist groups that dominated other provinces of the Commonwealth.⁶⁷ This thesis aims to connect these two threads in Great Poland, bridging the gap between political and confessional studies to rethink how the region functioned as a whole. The findings made here on the relationship between churches and the state will also have implications for understanding the whole *Rzeczpospolita*.

Political representation was crucial to help guarantee non-Catholic security. In France and the German lands, Catholic intolerance forced Protestants to unify politically and defend their rights, but this process did not seem to be occurring in the Commonwealth. From Stefan Batory on, there were

⁶⁵ Gerhard Krause, *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation im ehemaligen Königreich Polen* (Posen, 1901); Artur Rhode, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche im Posener Lande* (Würzburg, 1956); Theodor Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Leipzig, 1911).

⁶⁶ Edward Opaliński, *Elita władzy w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim za Zygmunta III* (Poznań, 1981); idem., *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej 1587-1632* (Warszawa, 1995).

⁶⁷ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i-XVII w.* (Warszawa, 1997).

Protestants in both camps of all major political divisions, for example both in favour and in opposition to royal plans for war with the Ottoman Empire. This political disunity of Commonwealth Protestantism at the turn of the seventeenth century has been read as a major factor in undermining religious dissent. The cause, ironically, seemed not to be the strength of Catholicism, but rather its weakness; since Protestants did not feel overburdened by Catholic aggression towards them, they did not need to unify to defend themselves and thus, according to Leszek Jarmański, condemned themselves to long-term decline.⁶⁸ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa reached the same conclusions for Great Poland; lack of dissenter unity was their downfall. She suggests that conversions and the return of church buildings to Catholicism occurred in Great Poland from the moment when hopes to create a national Protestant church failed.⁶⁹

Catholicism did indeed gain ground in the seventeenth century, both in terms of converts and reclaimed church buildings, but the impact of the Catholic Reformation on the szlachta is still not clear. Studies of the Catholic Church during the Polish People's Republic were limited by the ruling ideology; the Catholicism of most people in the Polish Kingdom was neglected to study the 'proto-socialist' Radical Reformation and the 'cosmopolitan' influence of the Jesuits. The main survey of the early modern period focussed on statistical analysis of bishops and orders, and the Church in enlightenment reform.⁷⁰ Since 1989 Catholic works including the handsome Jesuit Encyclopaedia have been published, but much more research is needed, especially on Catholic Reform in the seventeenth century.⁷¹

It appears that advocates of Reformation in Poland supported mixed government, affirming institutionalised pluralism rather than the formation of an exclusive elite.⁷² Catholicisation seemed to be advancing without the state in the Commonwealth through a deep-rooted popular Catholicism, rather than imposed external reform.⁷³ Rural resistance to the reforms of the Council of

⁶⁸ Jarmański, *Bez użycia siły*, pp.35-37, pp.177-178.

⁶⁹ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce" in Jerzy Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Wielkopolski t.1 do 1793* (Poznań, 1969), pp.542-573 (p.562).

⁷⁰ Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce t.2 XVI-XVIII w.* (Kraków, 1969).

⁷¹ Ludwik Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach w Polsce* (Kraków, 1996).

⁷² Henryk Gmiterek, "Die Rezeption reformatorischer Ideen und religiöser Widerstandstheorien innerhalb der polnischen Eliten" in Bahlcke (ed.), *Ständefreiheit*, pp.217-228 (p.227).

⁷³ Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.2, pp.173-174.

Trent ensured that the 'old Faith' and its medieval rituals were still practised, in Little Poland as elsewhere.⁷⁴ A renewed commitment to a Catholic identity rooted in the community, not reliant on Pope or crown, eventually enabled the Roman faith to win over in Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth century. This thesis will show how confessional change in Great Poland under the first two Wazas was forged by and impacted on both Catholic and Protestant szlachta, within a decentralised political framework.

Great Poland, a diverse and changing corner of a vast multicultural Commonwealth that bordered on an empire undergoing religious and political transformation, is a fascinating context in which to explore the role of confession in the state. A wide range of material has made this possible. In order to understand the Commonwealth legal conception of toleration in this period, key Polish legislation, most crucially the Henrician Articles and *Pacta Conventa* of 1573 and the *compositio inter status* settlement of 1635, are analysed on the basis of the *Volumina Legum*, the authoritative collection of Polish law. Other relevant legislation on confessional matters, such as the constitutions on tumults, is also used to determine how the *Rzeczpospolita* reacted to breaches of religious peace.⁷⁵ The implementation of legislation is more difficult to trace. The discussion surrounding the toleration and *compositio* settlements from 1573 onwards are also examined on the basis of contemporary diaries, proposals for legislation, negotiations and polemic between the szlachta and clergy, focussing on interregna and other key moments such as the *rokosz*.⁷⁶ This will help construct a picture of how the legislation was interpreted by contemporaries, before and after its enactment.

The key sources for gauging szlachta political views and concerns have been the unusually complete sejmik records for Środa, the representative body of key palatinates Poznań and Kalisz to the Sejm. These are published up to

⁷⁴ See research on Little Poland by Waldemar Kowalski, *The Reformation and Counter Reformation in Rural and Township Parishes in the Cracow Diocese* (unpublished paper given at the FEMCE Seminar, London 14 November 2001).

⁷⁵ *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw t.1 1347-1547* (Petersburg, 1859); *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw t.2 1550-1609* (Petersburg, 1859); *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw t.3 1609-1640* (Petersburg, 1859); *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw t.4 1641-1668* (Petersburg, 1859).

⁷⁶ Based on Sejm and interregnum diaries and instructions found in the Kórnik (BK) Raczyński (BR) Czartoryski (BC), Ossoliński (BO), Zamoyski (BOZ) and National Library (BN) collections; these are dispersed through many manuscripts, see relevant chapters for details. Examples of polemic on the *compositio* include Jesuit Laurentius Faunteus, *De Controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum et secularem in Polonia* (Poznań, 1587); Andrzej Lipski, *Decas questionorum publicarum regi in quibus Ecclesiastica iura et immunitates Ecclesiastici status elucidatur* (Kraków, 1616).

1632, but manuscript copies in Kórnik and the Raczyński libraries also cover Władysław's reign, and include instructions from other sejmiki in the region. The sejmik decisions and instructions to deputies to take to the Sejm were collective though individual voices thus do not come through in their proceedings, they can be used to trace changes and continuities in regional responses on issues from toleration to taxation. Sejm diaries (informal records of proceedings) are also used to trace the voices of individual deputies and senators, particularly records of the extraordinary sessions during interregna.⁷⁷

Unfortunately little szlachta correspondence from Great Poland survives, making the reconstruction of personal perspectives and relationships more difficult. The main source, apart from published letters and copies of letters by key senators, is correspondence with the Lithuanian Radziwiłłs. A key source on regional figures and relationships is the published correspondence of the Palatine of Poznań, Krzysztof Opaliński to his brother Łukasz, Crown Marshal of the Court. Memoirs from outside the region such as the diary of Lithuanian Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł (1595-1656) also provide valuable detail on individual activities and attitudes.⁷⁸ Political polemic by szlachta and clergy supplements this. Most important is the explosion of writing surrounding royal elections and the Rokosz of Sandomierz, best documented by Jan Czubek, an extensive and uncensored range of polemic from all sides about how the *Rzeczpospolita* should be governed and what it stands for.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Włodzimierz Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta sejmikowe województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego 1: 1572-1616* (Poznań, 1957); idem., *Akta sejmikowe województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego 2: 1616-1632* (Poznań, 1962). Other manuscripts in the above-mentioned libraries, see relevant chapters for details.

⁷⁸ Krzysztof Opaliński ed. Roman Pollak, *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641-53* (Wrocław, 1957); Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce 1632-1656* (Warszawa, 1980); Jerzy Ossoliński ed. Władysław Czapliński, *Pamiętnik* (Warszawa, 1986); Jan Pasek ed. Catherine Leach, *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: the Writings of J C Pasek* (London, 1976). Correspondence in the Radziwiłł Archive sections IV and V in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (ARIV and ARV in AGAD); also in *silvae rerum* in the above-cited libraries and manuscripts in the Poznań (UAM), Kraków (BJ) and Warsaw (BUW) university libraries.

⁷⁹ Again, this is dotted around the *silvae rerum* of the above-mentioned libraries. Jan Czubek (ed.), *Pisma polityczne czasu pierwszego bezkrólewia* (Kraków, 1906); idem., *Pisma polityczne z czasu rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego t.1-3* (Kraków, 1916-18); Aleksander Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz Zebrzydowski: Materiały historyczne: Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasińskich – Muzeum Konstantego Świdzińskiego* vols. 9-12 (Warszawa, 1893); Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce Zygmunta III* (Warszawa, 1971); Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*; Łukasz Opaliński ed. Stanisław Grzeszczuk, *Wybór pism* (Wrocław, 1959); Świętosław Orzełski ed. Eduard Kuntze, *Bezkrólewia ksiąg ósmioro 1572-6 in Scriptores rerum Polonicarum* 22 (Kraków, 1917); Johannes Comenius, *Panegyricus Carolo Gustavo* (Leszno, 1655); Krzysztof Opaliński, *Satyry* (?Kraków, 1652, 1st ed. Leszno, 1650); Opaliński, *Polonia defensa*.

Another major space where the interests of church, state and szlachta met was in the courts. The focus here has been on the *gród* courts of the region, the most important territorial courts under key *starostas* appointed by the crown. These are a mine of information on szlachta disputes and landholding, conflict with and between the clergy and tumults, especially important for determining how the toleration and *compositio* settlements were thrashed out in practice. The courts also record unrest and tension, since szlachta protests were formally registered there. Due to the volume of cases, apart from the regional *kaptur* (special interregnum) courts, this work focuses on key years from the *gród* courts of Poznań, Kalisz, Kościan, Wschowa and Wałcz, to get a good geographical spread across the province. Little survives from central courts like that of the Sejm, but the available sources are used here.⁸⁰ None of the records from the Crown Tribunal (1578-1794), the highest court of appeal for the szlachta in the first instance, which dealt with cases such as prominent tumults, survive, and very little work was done on them before their destruction in World War II. All the records of the Grand Marshal of the Kingdom's court (1611-1794) were also destroyed, as were almost all the books of the assessor's court (1537-1794); only 24 of 546 survive.⁸¹ Reports of such prominent cases can be found in correspondence but this is certainly the greatest loss of material affecting this thesis.⁸²

This study concentrates on the szlachta; while the beliefs and identity of townspeople and peasants are a crucial aspect of confessionalisation, reference to these remain of necessity very limited within the scope of this thesis. Church leadership, both clerical and lay, is however considered in some detail. Ecumenical synods and resolutions are an important source for establishing how churches worked together. These include the Commonwealth Protestants' declaration of common faith, the Consensus of Sandomierz (1570), joint synods from the 1590s to the 1640s, leading up to the Colloquium Charitativum of 1645.⁸³ These focus mainly on church discipline

⁸⁰ Regional court records are in the Poznań City Archive (Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Poznania, APMP). Surviving fragments from the Sejm and assessor's courts, *Metryka Koronna* (MK) in AGAD, ARS 1-8.

⁸¹ For full details on lost sources, see Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych (NDAP), *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie rękopisemnych źródeł historycznych t.1. AGAD* (Warszawa, 1951), particularly Jadwiga Jankowska, "Akta Urzędu Marszałka Wielkiego Koronnego" in NDAP, *Straty archiwów*, pp.132-139; Adam Wolff, "Księgi sądu asesorskiego (1537-1794)" in *ibid.*, pp.126-127; *idem.*, "Księgi trybunału koronnego(1578-1794)" in *ibid.*, pp.128-131

⁸² One example is the correspondence of Marcin Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, where he mentions tribunal cases and royal commissions on tumults affecting Poznań; ARV 1419 (letters from 1599-1624).

⁸³ *Consensus in fide et Religione Christiana inter ecclesias maioris et minoris Poloniae 1570...* (Toruń, 1586), Władysław IV Waza, *Thoruniensis Colloqui indictio et leges...* (n.p. 1645) and *Acta Conventus Thoruniensis*

and theological matters such as the joint edition of a Bible and *cancional*, but also include some discussion on how the *szlachta* should represent non-Catholic church interests politically.

The central materials on church issues, conflicts and relations with other churches were confessional synod records, above all the rich Czech Brethren archive, which includes correspondence, diaries, visitations, and some separate synods for *szlachta* patrons. They range from details on disciplining individual church members to records of meetings between confessions representing the whole Commonwealth, and their deputations to the crown and Sejm. The originals used, mostly in the Poznań city archive, and now recently published up to 1632 based on the late Maria Sipayłło's hard work, were a key source for this thesis.⁸⁴ The Brethren material can be used as a prism through which to view other confessions, whose surviving records are sadly limited. A few Lutheran and Socinian synods have been published, but Sipayłło excludes these confessions, which have no archive to match the Brethren. Some Reformed church histories also survive.⁸⁵ Therefore the Brethren records are used for an overview to examine changes and continuities throughout the period, and the other confessional synods are used as reference points of comparison wherever possible.

The Catholic synods give information on how post-Tridentine reform was realised and on the attitudes of the hierarchy to its own flock, other confessions and relations with the *szlachta*. They include information on landholding and reclaiming churches from non-Catholics, intermarriage, censorship, education, and theological and moral discipline, political representation through the Senate and Crown Tribunal, and efforts to defend clerical and confessional privileges. Like the *sejmik* records, these record collective voices, apart from the occasional episcopal pastoral letter, and of course include secular clergy only, not regular clergy or confessional patrons,

Celebrati 1645 (Warszawa, 1646) in the BN; *Acta et Conclusiones Synodi Generalis Toruniensis 1595 in Corpus et synagme confessorum fidei* (Geneva, 1654) in the British Library (BL); other ecumenical synods in the collection of the Reformed Synod (Synod Ewangelicko-Reformowany, SER), BUW MS 606, 616, 692.

⁸⁴ Archiwum Braci Czeskich (ABC) in APMP; further manuscript copies of Brethren records in BR; Maria Sipayłło (ed.), *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce t.4* (Warszawa, 1997) includes records now held at the national library in Prague.

⁸⁵ Jerzy Łukaszewicz, *Wiadomość historyczna o dysydentach w miejsce Poznaniu XVI i XVII w.* (Poznań, 1832) p.211; Gottfried Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden der Kirche Augsburgischer Konfession in Grosspolen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Jahrbuch des Theologischen Seminars der Unierten Evangelischen Kirche in Polen II* 15 (Posen, 1930); Stanisław Szczotka, "Synody arian polskich 1569-1662" in *Reformacja w Polsce* 7/8 (1935-6) pp.21-100.

unlike the Brethren records. Both Gniezno archdiocesan and Poznań diocesan synods are well documented. Copies are in Poznań, though many have been lost and work on them has been very limited.⁸⁶ Nuncio correspondence is also helpful on Polish relations with Rome, though the nunciature records themselves were destroyed in World War II.⁸⁷

Thus this thesis draws on a broad spectrum of source material. Legislation and the surrounding discussion at both a national and regional level, court cases where the practical implications of these decisions were thrashed out, political polemic, personal correspondence and diaries, are all used to achieve the best possible reconstruction of the secular world. The spiritual counterpart is found in church synods and polemic, from the little-used and extensive Czech Brethren material through Catholic, Lutheran and Socinian records and documentation of inter-confessional encounters. This wide range of church and secular sources will enable a new understanding of the politics of toleration in the centre of Europe.

In order to ascertain what confessional difference really meant to the szlachta of Great Poland, this thesis will look at six aspects of the politics of toleration in successive chapters. To begin, chapter one defines what toleration really meant to the szlachta of Great Poland under Zygmunt III and Władysław IV. The foundation documents for confessional relations in Poland-Lithuania, the Consensus of Sandomierz of 1570 and the toleration settlement of 1573, are examined in detail, including the reasons for their formulation and their interpretation by contemporaries throughout the reigns of the first two Wazas. The Consensus of Sandomierz was an exceptional document establishing the basis for lasting mutual co-operation between Protestant churches in Poland-Lithuania. These agreed to respect and aid each other wherever they could.

⁸⁶ Old prints in the BK and BR. *Constitutiones synodorum Metropol. Eccles. Gnesnensis* (Kraków, 1630); *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 8 XI 1643 (Warszawa, 1646); *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 13 XI 1634 (Kraków, 1636); *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 22 V 1628 (Kraków, 1641); *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 10 V 1628 (Kraków, 1630); *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 26 VI 1621 (Kraków, 1624); *Constitutiones synodis archidiocesana Gnesnensis* 13 IX 1620 (Kraków, 1621); *Constitutiones synodis diocesana Gnesnensis* 29 III 1593 (Poznań 1593); *Constitutiones et decreta synodis Gnesnensis provinciae* 1589 (Praga, 1590); *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis* 9 IX 1642 (Poznań, 1642). Published ones by Jakub Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae VII – synody diecezji poznańskiej i ich statuty* (Warszawa, 1952); idem., *Concilia Poloniae V – synody archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej i ich statuty* (Warszawa, 1950).

⁸⁷ For correspondence see Rykaczewski, *Relacje nuncjusów*. The records of the nunciature in Poland covered the years 1578-1794 incompletely, but included the nunciatures under Zygmunt III. All of these were destroyed in World War II, except for 4 books from the 1740s, 1780s and 1790s. Adam Stebelski, "Akta nuczajatury papieskiej w Polsce 1578-1794" in NDAP, *Straty archiwów*, pp.309-311.

The Consensus placed the Augsburg and Helvetian confessions side by side, giving them equal status. This co-operation, together with wider efforts towards forming a national church in the sixteenth century Commonwealth, was a crucial milestone on the road to the 1573 toleration settlement. From the election of Henri Valois in that year, each succeeding monarch was bound to maintain peace between religions, and affirm noble liberties as set out in the Henrician Articles. These two royal commitments to the *szlachta* together formed the *Pacta Conventa*, thus the cornerstone of religious liberty for the nobles, though not other estates.

When exactly attitudes to liberty of conscience changed is difficult to determine. Chapter one will show how far all confessions, not only in Great Poland, upheld the political principle of the Warsaw Confederation as part of the *Pacta Conventa*. The *szlachta*'s attitude to toleration will be determined through an examination of their collective and individual commentary on dealing with confessional difference. The collective approach of the regional nobility can be effectively traced through their statements on toleration, particularly their frequent reference to the 1573 settlement, in the *sejmiki*. *Sejmik* decisions were taken by consensus and the records for the powerful Środa *sejmik*, representing the key regional palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, are unusually complete. The views of individual nobles and church perspectives on toleration will also be examined, through synods and the activity of other influential confessional forces such as the Society of Jesus and religious lobbying in the *Sejm*. Popular attitudes are included through an analysis of tumults (confessional conflicts and riots), a noticeably short-lived phenomenon in Great Poland. This will produce a clear overview of changes and continuities in noble perspectives on liberty of conscience.

Having established the central concept of toleration, the regional context in which it was to be realised is explained in chapter two on Great Poland's place in the Commonwealth. This chapter will consider how the government of the *Rzeczpospolita* and the *szlachta* estate functioned, establishing how different confessions were politically represented. Poland-Lithuania was both an elective monarchy and a 'mixed' government; that is, it was ruled in conjunction by three estates – the crown, senatorial and non-senatorial *szlachta*. Political decision-making was conducted by the *szlachta* in co-

operation with the crown, both through the sejmiki and Sejm and through their administration of justice from the highest court in the land down to local jurisdictions. Thus the szlachta were in a position to make toleration a reality. Regional power structures are explained by outlining the influential families and leading figures of the region, social and economic stratification, patterns of land and office holding. This chapter will establish how nobles thought Poland-Lithuania should be governed, and the way in which they put their ideals into practice, on the basis of szlachta political writing and letters, sejmik records, Sejm diaries and legislation, regional and local court records. Great Poland's relationship with the crown and to other provinces of the Commonwealth are also considered, to paint a portrait of a state that functioned well by devolving authority from the centre to politically participative regions. A close analysis of Great Poland's sejmiki will show how the regional szlachta took part responsibly in central decision-making. An examination of the balance of Catholics and non-Catholics in positions of power, as office holders and landholders, will show how far toleration remained a political reality for Great Poland's szlachta. This will show whether non-Catholics were still united enough to influence politics on both a regional and Commonwealth level, and question Tazbir's conclusion that dissenters lost their political voice in the seventeenth century.

The third chapter explores confessional relations, within the theoretical and political framework established in the previous chapters. The churches of Great Poland are surveyed, drawing on a detailed analysis of synod records, particularly the wealth of little-used Czech Brethren documentation. In Great Poland the unusually rich mixture of confessions presented the regional faith communities with a unique opportunity to co-operate beyond denominational boundaries. This study is limited to the szlachta, but synods and szlachta commentary on church issues will show how far noble confessional identities were forming. Schilling and Reinhard's criteria for demonstrating that confessionalising processes were at work, such as the hardening of church and social discipline, are tested in the region. Were Great Poland's churches drawing lines of difference from each other through their synods, their use of censorship and education? Considering all denominations in the region together for the first time, chapter three seeks to show how in Great Poland at

least, the ability of all reformations to impose social discipline and cause division between denominations was limited under the first two Wazas.

The following chapters examine two pivotal events for the politics of toleration under Zygmunt III and his son. Chapter four offers a detailed analysis of the Rokosz of Sandomierz (1606-1609), the crisis of Zygmunt III's reign. The *rokosz* was a traditional form of rising against a monarch seen to have broken his obligations to the szlachta in the *Pacta Conventa*, including liberty of conscience. This three-year rising is often cited as a turning point for Poland-Lithuania, after which both religious toleration and political unity in the Commonwealth declined. Great Poland's role in the Rokosz of Sandomierz is explored; the *rokosz* period marked a crucial shift in regional attitudes to Zygmunt III's rule. The demands of the risers, as set out in the Sandomierz Articles, and the regalist response in the Articles of Wiślica, are thoroughly examined. A survey of opposition to royal authority in the years following the *rokosz* goes to show how far the risers' demands were met, even after the conflict was over. Catholics still joined dissenters to challenge royal authority, and defend liberty of conscience together with other szlachta liberties. Thus the case will be made for reading the *rokosz* not as a catastrophe but a restorative check in the balance of power between crown and nobles, Catholics and non-Catholics.

Chapter five analyses the triumph of Władysław IV's reign, the successful conclusion of a *compositio inter status* in 1635. This legislation, which the szlachta had been calling for since the toleration settlement was concluded in 1573, was an important step in affirming liberty of conscience in practice. The *compositio* settled many contentious issues regarding the overlapping spheres of authority between the Catholic Church and the szlachta, crucially, with papal approval. Crucially, it defined a process for clarifying ownership of tithes and forbade the alienation of noble land by the clergy. The settlement also limited the authority of the Holy See within the Commonwealth. From 1635, all appeals in court cases between clergy and szlachta stopped at Warsaw and could not be carried on to Rome. The *compositio* legislation itself is analysed, together with the processes that made it politically possible, including noble support in Great Poland, and the impact the settlement then had on the region in succeeding years. The chapter will show how toleration

was reaffirmed through Commonwealth legislation on the status of the churches under Władysław IV.

The concluding chapter will draw all the threads together to ascertain the actual politics of toleration among Great Poland's szlachta under the first two Wazas, demonstrating the significance of these regional findings in the context of the whole Commonwealth and their significance for contemporary Europe. By this stage it will be clear whether the numerical gains of the Catholic Church meant that the stereotype of the *polak-katolik*, equating statehood with Catholicism, had affected Poland-Lithuania. Great Poland was especially resilient against Commonwealth centralisation in church and state, drawing on a rich tradition of pluralism in East Central Europe. How politically committed to toleration was this province in the 'Silver Age'?

1. Toleration

“Since our *Rzeczpospolita* is facing considerable *dissidium in cause religionis christianae*, striving to prevent the outbreak of such damaging unrest between people for this reason as we can clearly perceive in other kingdoms, we swear to each other, *pro nobis, et successoribus nostris, in perpetuum, sub vinculo juramenti, fide, honore, et conscientijs nostris*, that since we are *dissidentes de religione*, to preserve peace among ourselves, not to spill blood for different faiths and variations in the churches, nor to punish *confiscatione bonorum*, of honour, *carceribus et exilio*, and not to aid such a process by use of any status or office: and of course if anyone dares to spill blood, *ex ista causa* we are all obligated to consider this, even if he wishes to do it on the pretext of a decree or some legal process.”¹ With these words, the szlachta of the Commonwealth committed themselves to religious peace in the Warsaw Confederation, which their elected monarchs affirmed on succeeding the throne.

With such guarantees, Poland-Lithuania at the end of the sixteenth century was a haven for religious dissidents from all over Europe. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century, Catholicism was the dominant confession; were non-Catholics still so well provided for as a smaller minority? Toleration could put dissenters off their guard. If they felt they had confessional freedom, Protestants and Orthodox would not need to band together to defend their rights - in the long term this disunity could be dangerous for liberty of conscience. This is one criticism of non-Catholics' failure to form a national church in the sixteenth century.² While in the seventeenth century Commonwealth dissenters still enjoyed the greatest degree of toleration in contemporary Europe, it has been argued that in the decades of Zygmunt III's rule, they moved from extending to defending their rights.³ This chapter will determine when and why such a change took place. It examines how toleration fared across the Commonwealth, in politics and in the churches, from its foundations at the eve of the Jagiellonian age through the reigns of Zygmunt and Władysław Waza.

¹ *Confederatio generalis warsaviensis* (1573) in *Volumina legum*. t.2, p.124.

² Jaromiński, *Bez użycia siły*, pp.243-244; Lecler, *Toleration*, p.487.

³ Henryk Wisner, “Walka o realizację konfederacji warszawskiej za panowania Zygmunta III Wazy” in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 19 (1974), pp.129-150 (p.148).

1.1: Foundations of Plurality

Poland-Lithuania's Protestants committed themselves to live side by side in an effort to prevent the bloody conflicts across the continent over religion, while realising they were not ready for theological union. This opened the door to toleration for all citizens of the Commonwealth. In order to explain how this exceptional situation arose, the two foundations of confessional plurality, the Consensus of Sandomierz (1570) and the Confederation of Warsaw (1573), are examined in detail here. Then their reception by the szlachta and the churches are analysed, to determine whether they enjoyed passive tolerance or active toleration. The Oxford Dictionary defines tolerance as "forbearance" from condemning difference, "accepting something without protest". Toleration is a more wide-ranging political affirmation, a "state sanction for the expression of religious opinion or freedom to practice forms of religion at variance to those officially established."

1.1.1 The Sandomierz Consensus

The *Consensus Sandomirensis* arose out of decades of efforts towards church union, both Catholic and Protestant. The new confessions consciously chose to work together from a position of strength. Calvinists in Little Poland sought ties with the Czech Brethren soon after the latter arrived in Great Poland in 1548. At the Synod of Koźminek in 1555, local Calvinists agreed to recognise the Brethren's Confession and rituals, though stopping short of an actual union. From his arrival in 1556, reformer Jan Łaski (1499-1560) gathered support in Little Poland for a united church. He planned a national church council, headed by King Zygmunt August, who sent a deputation to Rome to support this cause.⁴ Łaski focussed on reaching an agreement with the Czech Brethren, yet these, like the Lutherans, did not want to alter their confession. Commonwealth Calvinists produced their first confession of faith in 1567, whereafter their secular leaders, notably the Palatines of Kraków and Sandomierz, Stanisław Myszkowski (d.1570) and Piotr Zborowski (d. after 1569), renewed their efforts for a national church.⁵ A final impetus for

⁴ See introduction.

⁵ Henryk Gmiterek, *Bracia Czescy a Kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej połowa XVI – połowa XVII w.* (Lublin, 1987), pp.15-38.

Sandomierz may have been the Protestant need to respond to the completed Council of Trent, whose canons King Zygmunt August and the Senate received in 1564.⁶ So the Consensus arose in a period when dissenter churches were growing, seeking to formalise relations with each other and Catholicism.

The Consensus was finally reached on 14 April 1570 at a General Synod of the Lutheran, Czech Brethren and Helvetian churches. Two of the three chief signatories came from Great Poland; Lutheran Superintendent Erasmus Gliczner (1535-1603) and Jan Lorenc (d.1587) for the Czech Brethren were joined by the Calvinist Paweł Gilowski (1534-1595) from Little Poland.⁷ Having considered the confessions of these churches, the synod composed articles of the Christian faith on the basis of all three, stating the beliefs on which they had reached consensus. Most importantly, they agreed to disagree when it came to the Eucharist; "With regard to the Article on the Lord's Supper, since a certain difference of understanding or *termini* of speaking about it has arisen, we have agreed to end all dispute on customs or quality, since we all respect and believe according to the redeeming Word and the Holy Ancient Church the sentences expressed in the Sandomierz Consensus." They thus allowed each church community (*zbor*) to decide on its own ceremonies, uniting around Ireneus's assertion that the Eucharist was composed of both earthly and heavenly elements. The Lutheran, Calvinist and Czech Brethren understandings of the Eucharist were all recognised as valid. The Consensus was to be kept "particularly when going to hear the word of God and using the Sacraments in any of the churches of any of these confessions, while preserving the good order, discipline and custom of each community".⁸ It allowed clergy from one church to serve in other signatory churches. The ultimate aim was to achieve one Eucharistic ceremony, where the congregation could choose whether to stand or kneel, though sitting down, as the Socinians did, and excessive 'papist glorification of the host' were condemned. The settlement defined common ground between churches by excluding others, both the Roman and the 'radical' reformations. Belief in the Trinity was a shared article of faith; the true church was to be defended against such sects as the "Triheitan and Anabaptists" as well as Papists.⁹

⁶ Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.37.

⁷ *Consensus in fide et Religione Christiana inter ecclesias maioris et minoris Poloniae* (Toruń, 1586), p.9.

⁸ *Consensus*, pp.3-4, p.11, pp.13-15.

⁹ *Consensus*, p.3, p.5, pp.9-11, p.15, p.25, pp.50-54, pp.57-59.

Successive general synods affirmed the Consensus - at Kraków in 1573, Piotrków in 1578 and Włodawa in 1583. With the authority of these synods, it had been printed by 1582.¹⁰ The agreement was addressed to “all God-fearing people” within Poland and in Europe, to demonstrate “that we are living in permanent agreement as brothers in unity, and that our opponents incorrectly and unjustly accuse us of disagreement and lack of order.” The Consensus called its signatory churches to “carefully and effectively guard against all causes of disagreement and division in the churches”. The penalty for disturbing the peace between signatory churches was excommunication by the synod.¹¹ Regional confirmations of the agreement affirmed this desire to preserve unity and defined the means to defend it.

At Poznań a bare month after the Consensus was signed, it was affirmed by the regional synod of 20 May 1570, which included both German and Polish Lutherans.¹² This clarified boundaries of authority over congregations. Ministers should not allow members of other churches to receive the sacrament in their church “without permission from their pastor, except at the Sejm, Synod, or when they are guests”. Church members excluded from the Eucharist or ministers banned in one church should not be accepted by another.¹³ These articles indicate the extent to which churches worked together, in public spaces of political and church decision-making and in private homes.

The Poznań articles went further on preserving harmony between churches. Preachers and congregations should in no way undermine their fellow churches, “in speech or writing, but only speak and think well of them”. At the same time the Elders of the churches are called to “preserve this unity in all other church matters. As needed they should meet once a year or so in a certain place to gather and advise each other.” Any unresolved disputes should be taken to the General Synod.¹⁴

¹⁰ This is the date of the earliest print edition I have found in the BN.

¹¹ *Consensus*, p.5, p.6, p.17.

¹² *Consensus in fide et Religione*, pp.15-16, p.27, p.30.

¹³ *Consensus*, p.25, p.26.

¹⁴ *Consensus*, p.23, p.27.

At Sandomierz dissenters agreed to differ on the most contentious issues, to prevent any signatory church from converting faithful from other member confessions. The Consensus was not the union for which Łaski had hoped; in the following months and years the idea of a national church was gradually dropped. It was rather a recognition of confessional independence for each church, settling conflicts and affirming common ground, as a basis for lasting future co-operation. The agreement soon bore fruit, giving its signatory churches – though not the Socinians – a new status in the eyes of the Catholic authorities. King Zygmunt August granted Kraków dissenters a privilege in 1572, confirmed under King Stefan Batory, which permitted all confessions covered by the Consensus to worship in a house in Kraków.¹⁵

The Consensus of Sandomierz was a crucial step toward the 1573 Confederation, as it gave non-Catholics a national platform without them needing to form a unified church structure. The Synod of April 1570 already planned a constitution on toleration. The signatories achieved direct results within weeks; the 1570 Sejm, that May, discussed proposals for a constitution on concord between the spiritual and secular estates, forerunner to the *compositio inter status*, an accord which would clear up conflicts over property and jurisdiction between clergy and szlachta. This draft aimed to give all Sejm deputies freedom of religion, tithes to the owner of the land where the church stood, and also remove dissenters from Catholic jurisdiction. The crown promised not to condemn heresy and sort out the issue of tithes.¹⁶ These questions were put off until the next Sejm, but the interregnum in which the Confederation was sealed came first.

1.1.2 The Warsaw Confederation

The 1573 Confederation was exceptional. Following the Peace of Augsburg (1555), it preceded both the Edict of Nantes (1598) and the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The Confederation was partly a reaction to the St. Bartholemew's Day massacre of the Huguenots the year before. While electing one of the perpetrators, Henri Valois, the szlachta wanted to guarantee that the same violence would not occur in Poland-Lithuania. It arose because

¹⁵ Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów i inne szkice: prace wybrane t. 1* (Kraków, 2000), p.90.

¹⁶ Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation*, p.251; Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.39, p.42.

dissenters were a major decision-making force, through the Consensus, the 'execution' movement and their activism in the interregnum.

The sixteenth-century 'execution of the laws' movement sought to defend and extend noble rights. It took freedom of confession as one of the szlachta liberties guaranteed by law. An example of this was the limitation of church court judgements over the szlachta by a Sejm constitution of 1565; from then on, secular courts would not enforce canon law rulings.¹⁷ The Confederation also arose from long years of toleration towards the Orthodox and Armenians, Muslims and Jews. This acceptance extended naturally to Protestants in the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Dissenters at the heart of the 'execution' movement used it to defend and extend their liberties.¹⁹

Dissenters brought up the issue of religious peace at the Confederation assembly during the 1573 interregnum between the reigns of Zygmunt August and Henri; a separate commission of leading Catholics and Protestants, which came up with the text, resolved this.²⁰ Though concluded in the name of the whole szlachta, individual signatures and seals were attached to the original Confederation text. The assembly met to preserve the peace and security of the Commonwealth and to define the principles they wished to present to a new monarch. The first point of the Confederation was a promise to keep the "peace, justice, order and defence of the Republic", the second, to bring the election of a new monarch to a smooth conclusion.²¹ Following these, the clause on religious peace had the highest priority. By this clause, szlachta of all confessions agreed to preserve peace, assuring freedom from physical and other violence – bloodletting, confiscating land, imprisonment or exile would have legal consequences. Dissenters were free to hold public office under the Confederation, which stated that positions of authority should not be used to exert pressure on other confessions. This toleration did not extend to other estates – under clause four, subjects who used the pretext of religion to revolt

¹⁷ Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August*, pp.306-312.

¹⁸ Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.28-30; see introduction on the early Reformations in Poland-Lithuania.

¹⁹ Piąza, *Próby reform*, p.178-9. He names Protestant 'executionalists' including key szlachta from Great Poland; Andrzej Górka, Stanisław Orzelski, Jan Ostroróg and Rafał Leszczyński; p.95, p.139.

²⁰ Stanisław Salmonowicz, "Geneza i treść uchwał konfederacji warszawskiej" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 19 (1974), pp.7-30 (pp.13-15).

²¹ *Volumina legum*. t.2, p.124.

against their lords, clergy or noble, would be punished. It only affected some cases involving towns.²²

The settlement did not specify security for non-Catholic houses of worship, but sought to limit Catholic ecclesial authority. The Confederation sought to preserve existing church privileges, but acknowledged that these needed to be clarified. Catholic and Orthodox benefices were to remain in the hands of their respective clergy, according to clause four. Yet at the same time, the Confederation also called for a *compositio inter status* to be resolved at the election Sejm (clause five). The rest of the Confederation regulated government during the interregnum. The Confederation allowed for some freedom to proselytise. Dissenters held services in public spaces not only at their joint synods but also at the Sejm. There was no restriction on publishing, as chapter three will show.

The szlachta and clergy would ensure whether the Confederation would be fully executed. The Sejm and sejmiki were the places where opinions on toleration were really thrashed out. Great Poland received the settlement well; the Środa sejmik was highly positive. Though Łęczyca's sejmik did not discuss it, the Catholic palatines of both Sieradz and Łęczyca signed the Confederation.²³ In Little Poland, Kraków and Sandomierz reacted positively, but Mazovia protested against the Confederation, though thereafter the same Mazovian sejmiki backed toleration well into the 1600s.²⁴ The Lithuanians, with strong Orthodox and Protestant leaders, advocated religious liberty with much more determination.²⁵

²² Edward Opalinski, "Sejmiki szlacheckie wobec tolerancji religijnej" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 34 (1989), p.25. There were appeals for it to include peasants, as at the 1606 Sejm; BK MS 325, p.585.

²³ Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.43-45, p.50, pp.75-76, p.79, p.92.

²⁴ Opalinski, "Sejmiki szlacheckie" p.38.

²⁵ Henryk Wisner, "Sejmiki litewskie i kwestia wyznaniowa 1611-48" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 23 (1978), pp.123-150.

When the Confederation was raised again at the election Sejm, opinion was still divided on the issue. King Henri Valois, crowned in February 1574, returned to France that June, seizing the opportunity to claim his father's throne. In the period 1574-1576 after Henri's flight, the settlement was only recognised by its signatories.

The Warsaw Confederation was produced under the leadership of Stanisław Karnkowski. The then Bishop of Cujavia and future Archbishop of Gniezno found few allies among his fellow clergy. The Bishops of Kraków and Kamień, Franciszek Krasiński (1525-1577) and Dionizy Secygniowski (d.c.1573), signed. The nuncio, Jan Commendone (1524-1584), was the main source of opposition to the Confederation. He was aided by the Tridentine reformer, Bishop of Warmia and Cardinal Stanisław Hosius and by Primate Jakub Uchański (1562-1581), who protested against the royal oath as more dangerous than the Confederation itself, since it carried more legal weight.²⁶ Karnkowski's ally Stanisław Górka, the Lutheran Palatine of Poznań, led the drive to ensure that King Stefan Batory took the oath, legally securing the settlement.

Batory ratified the Confederation, which was then printed with the Sejm constitutions on his election in 1576. The Catholic Synod of Piotrków, covering the Gniezno Archdiocese, condemned the Confederation in 1577, as it conflicted with the canons of the Council of Trent, which the synod then approved. Advocates of the 1573 settlement were to be excommunicated, though according to Mieczysław Korolko many szlachta resisted the synod ruling as a decision unauthorised by themselves in the Sejm.²⁷

Dissenters parried legal arguments against the Confederation effectively. Royal edicts against heresy from Władysław II Jagiełło (1386-1434) to Zygmunt I were used to attack the 1573 settlement, notably in the work of the Poznań Jesuit Mateusz Bembus (c.1567-1645) and at archdiocesan synods.²⁸

²⁶ Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.64, p.66, p.68.

²⁷ Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.81.

²⁸ Mateusz Bembus, *Pax non pax* (Kraków, 1615) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.459-472 (p.463). Bembus referred to edicts of 1424 and 1534. The 1634 Synod cited Zygmunt I's edicts of 1523 and 1527; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 13 XI 1634* (Kraków, 1636), pp.294ff. See introduction for more on heresy decrees.

These decrees had limited legal status since they were drawn up after the 1505 *nihil novi* statute, under which nothing new could be added to *Rzeczpospolita* law without Sejm approval. Dissenters also countered that heresy laws had never been applied against them.²⁹ They appealed to Zygmunt III to join a long royal line from Władysław Jagiełło; each successive monarch had affirmed toleration.³⁰ Great Poland's Lutheran superintendent argued that the Confederation perfected an ancient tradition from the origins of God's chosen people, when Abraham made a confederation with the kings of Canaan.³¹ Catholic Reformer Maciej Smogulecki, Starosta of Bydgoszcz questioned the legitimacy of a settlement drawn up during an interregnum, in his legal handbook, *O eksorbitancjach stanu duchownego* (Kalisz 1619).³² Yet as Czech Brethren minister Jan Tyniecki declared, the royal oath gave the Confederation legal force.³³ Protestant defences of toleration cited later laws such as the 1631 constitution on tumults.³⁴ Such religious unrest was defined by a 1598 constitution as "if someone invades by force, kills, wounds, uses violence, attacking a noble house or court on town land, or a house in the city".³⁵ Dissenters also appealed to urban law, placing religious peace in the context of public peace.

Dissenters sought a broader toleration; a *proces konfederacji*, or full realisation of the Warsaw Confederation. Their model was the reception of the Reformation in Poland: "under King Zygmunt August, among all, although differing in Faith, there was harmony, love and our Fatherland blossomed with peace".³⁶ Their response to the 1627 tumult of Lublin shows that they thought toleration also meant freedom of conscience. This tumult occurred when, reacting to the alleged killing of a Jesuit school student by soldiers of Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz, a riot broke out and the houses of Reformed and Socinian szlachta were attacked. Dissenters asserted that toleration was the only way to achieve peace, recalling French and German civil wars over religion. For them, szlachta rights were freedom, security and honour, with liberty as the highest value. These applied to Catholics,

²⁹ *Obrona przeciw procesowi konfederacji* (Kraków, 1595) in Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.269.

³⁰ Address to Zygmunt III from the 1595 synod in Turnowski, *Kazania synodowe*, pp.7-9.

³¹ Gliczner, *Appellatia*, p.Ai.

³² Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.118, pp.126-127.

³³ Tyniecki, *Vindicae pacis seu confessionis inter dissidentes* (Raków, 1615) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.473-491(p.485).

³⁴ Samuel Przyppkowski, *Braterska deklaracja* (1646) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.527-549 (p.547).

³⁵ *Volumina legum*. t.2, p.366.

Protestants and Orthodox as equal *dissidentes de religione*. "Liberty is no common matter of the body alone (for this kind of liberty would barely distinguish us from cattle); it should most properly be liberty of the Soul, and her most important part, that is, the Conscience." This included freedom from polemic attacks: "The subtle responses of your Highness's clergy against all those who hold other beliefs are indeed just controversies, or papers which kill no-one. But this paper has iron in it."³⁷

The classic argument against toleration was Justus Lipsius's (1547-1606) *Politicorum*, translated into Polish in 1595, which went through 74 editions by the 1750s. He advocated strong royal authority and unity of faith to ensure political security.³⁸ The conviction that toleration was unworkable, based on Lipsius's experience of the Dutch Civil War, was widely accepted throughout Europe.³⁹ Lipsius's stance found favour among Great Poland's Catholic clergy, including Poznań canon Mieszkowski (1594-1648), Poznań Canon Hieronim Powodowski (1543-1613) and Jesuit Mateusz Bembus, who argued that toleration legitimised dissension, causing political and even military conflict.⁴⁰ The Jesuit court preacher, Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), argued that breaking church unity destroyed the unity of the state, in his *Kazania sejmowe* (1595): "One faith makes one harmonious *Rzeczpospolita*. Now think of your kingdom. If you allow many faiths to spread there, you will certainly split the kingdom into two or three, and divided into parts it will surely perish."⁴¹

Some Catholics and Protestants openly criticised Lipsius's model as inapplicable in the Commonwealth context. Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605) had argued that mixed monarchy in Poland was superior to Lipsius's ideal of a strong ruler.⁴² Appeals for unity were thus rejected as signs of thinly disguised authoritarianism, if not royal absolutism, the ultimate threat to szlachta liberty.

³⁶ Definition of *proces* by Jan Tyniecki, *Respons na 30 przyczyn, którymi Iesui ci budowania zboru w Poznaniu bronić... panów duchownych podbić osiują* (Raków, 1615), pp.36-37.

³⁷ Dissenter protest of 1627 in ABC 2056.

³⁸ Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, p.102; Urszula Augustyniak, *Wazowie i królowie rodacy* (Warszawa, 1999), p.22, p.27; Justus Lipsius tr. Paweł Sczerbica, *Politica pańskie* (Kraków, 1595).

³⁹ Richard Tuck, "Scepticism and Toleration in the 17th Century" in Mendus (ed.), *Justifying Toleration*, pp.21-36 (p.22, p.28).

⁴⁰ Mieszkowski, *Polonus*, p.291, p.364; Powodowski, *Proposicia*, p.56, Bembus, *Pax non pax*, pp.470-3, p.525.

⁴¹ Piotr Skarga ed. Janusz Tazbir, *Kazania sejmowe* (1st ed. 1597, Kraków, 1972), p.102.

⁴² Augustyniak, *Wazowie*, pp.26-27.

Dissenters adapted 'executionalist' ideas to show that toleration of a minority was good for the majority. Great Poland's Lutheran parliamentarian Świętosław Orzelski coined the phrase *klejnot swobodnego sumienia* – "the jewel of liberty of conscience" – placing this in the same szlachta libertarian tradition.⁴³ Socinian apologist Samuel Przypkowski (1592-1670) developed this argument; once liberty of conscience was excluded from the szlachta's legal rights, it affected Catholics as much as dissenters, challenging the nobility's indivisible freedoms. Toleration was thus a defence against *absolutum dominium*: "There is only one way to ruin and utterly uproot our liberties: the pretext of religion. For if captivity of conscience enters our country, *actum est de libertate*, liberty is instantly shaken to its foundations. For what is any other kind of liberty worth to a nobleman, if in his conscience and his striving towards eternal salvation he is not free?"⁴⁴

Dissenters only questioned szlachta liberty, including liberty of conscience, once they began to feel excluded from Commonwealth power structures in the 1650s. Comenius argued in 1655 that true liberty was not restricted to the szlachta estate, which abused it: "Polonas nobiles, aequae ut plebem servili esse ingenio, nec libertate ulla recte uti, ad omnia potius illiberalia abuti: serviliter igitur indiscriminatim tractandos, ut ferociam deponati libertates illis non mimeandas, sed adimendas penitus." Freedom was not only for the szlachta but included toleration for all, which, Comenius thought, the invading Swedish Charles Gustav could better protect than the Polish King.⁴⁵

Catholic responses to the Confederation show that they too felt any encroachment on church rights and jurisdiction limited their *złota wolność*. Catholic clergy argued, as dissenters had, that infringement of clerical rights undermined szlachta liberty in general: "where is the equality in this, when the Protestants violate Catholic rights and the Catholics cannot accuse them in court and defend their own?"⁴⁶ Catholics were especially concerned about fellow believers in Prussian cities, who were being excluded from office, and complained that dissenters were acting to block Catholic clergy in the Crown

⁴³ Mieczysław Korolko, "Pogranicze Sarmatyzmów tolerancyjnego i nietolerancyjnego" in *Teksty* 21 nr. 3 (1975), pp.134-141 (p.138).

⁴⁴ Przypkowski, *Braterska deklaracja*, pp.533-534, p.543.

⁴⁵ Comenius, *Panegyricus*, p.Aivb, p.C.

⁴⁶ Bembus, *Pax non pax*, p.468.

Tribunal.⁴⁷ Dissenters admitted that Protestants in Prussian cities and Riga were intolerant towards Catholics.⁴⁸

Most of the Catholic hierarchy thought liberty of conscience one liberty too many, though the Confederation had a few episcopal advocates under Zygmunt III. Archbishop Karnkowski agreed that dissenters caused disruption in the Sejm – but took them seriously, calling them dissenters, not heretics, and calling for a separate Sejm on toleration.⁴⁹ Primate Jan Wężyk reiterated the need for toleration during the 1632 interregnum; though he opposed including the Socinians.⁵⁰ The Archbishop of Gniezno, Wojciech Baranowski, asserted that excessive freedoms violated the liberties of others.⁵¹ Canon Mieszkowski argued that toleration exceeded the reasonable liberty offered by the crown and true church, “*contra Dominum DEUM, contra libertates, et iura Regni, contra iuramentum antiquum*”.⁵²

Leading szlachta embraced the Catholic Reformation to limit the Confederation. These included members of two of the top four elite families in Great Poland, both Leszczyńskis and Opalińskis, followed by the Czarnkowski family – one of the second circle of influential clans – who were the most active Catholic reformers, promoting their church over others according to the doctrines of Trent. Less prominent but zealous converts, the Gostomski family were also great advocates of Catholic Reform.⁵³ Mikołaj Ostroróg, the Palatine of Poznań’s son, told the dissenters “you have enough [liberties] already, which your predecessors could not achieve. So you should be content with what you have, because you will not get any more.”⁵⁴

Yet other Catholics chose toleration, personally and politically. Tolerant Catholics are defined here as those who defended and sought to extend the Warsaw Confederation, included non-Catholics in their families by marriage, their client and alliance networks, welcomed them and allowed them to worship on their estates. The most prominent tolerant Catholics in Great Poland were the Leszczyńskis and Przyjemskis. The latter family was also one

⁴⁷ Jesuit protest in Sejm diary 1611, BK MS 313, pp.12-14.

⁴⁸ Tyniecki, *Vindicae pacis*, pp.486-489.

⁴⁹ Karnkowski, *Eksorbitancje*, pp.Ciii-Civ.

⁵⁰ Dorobisz and Kaczorowski, “Sieradzanie”, p.273.

⁵¹ Letter to the Środa sejmik 13 I 1615 in BR MS 33, p.127b.

⁵² Mieszkowski, *Polonus*, pp.249-252.

⁵³ See chapter 2.3.

of the top eight families in the region, and both families had Czech Brethren members. Rafał Leszczyński urged Kasper Denhoff, Palatine of Sieradz - who had just converted from Lutheranism - to continue defending toleration, as it would carry more weight coming from a Catholic.⁵⁵ His Catholic-dominated palatinate continued to support toleration into the 1640s.⁵⁶

The 'execution' movement still influenced noble opposition leaders. Advocates of this political strand promoted liberty of conscience as part of their other szlachta liberties, as the discussion on parliamentarians below and chapter four on challenges to royal rule both show. Dissenters could rely on Catholic Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, to defend them formally in central government. Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł (1612-1655) counted on his support to fight an 'anti-Socinian' protest at the Warsaw *gród* court in 1640, and again during the 1648 interregnum, to block the anti-toleration manifesto published then.⁵⁷

Another group of szlachta which backed the Confederation were the constitutionalists; often senators, they sought a balance of power between the three ruling estates of crown, senatorial and non-senatorial szlachta.⁵⁸ Constitutionalism was highly compatible with tolerant Catholicism - a 'third way' in religion as well as politics. Such Catholics rejected both the Jesuits and papal interference, just as they were wary of an overbearing monarch.⁵⁹ These included enlightened churchmen like the Bishop of Cujavia who argued that no estate should dominate - crown, church and szlachta would all suffer as a result.⁶⁰ From Little Poland, senator Jerzy Zbaraski (d.1631), the Castellan of Kraków, wrote to Rafał Leszczyński in 1627 that liberty of conscience was an important freedom to him too, as a Catholic.⁶¹ In Great Poland, Jan Ostroróg, Castellan of Poznań, advocated a balance between the royal and noble estates; though the prince bestowed liberties on the szlachta

⁵⁴ Election diary, 26 IX 1632 in BC MS 373, p.125.

⁵⁵ Letter of 13 I 1625 in BR MS 378, p.64b.

⁵⁶ Edward Opaliński, "Sejmiki szlacheckie wobec kwestii tolerancji religijnej 1587-1648" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 34 (1989), pp.21-40 (p.38).

⁵⁷ Sajkowski, *Krzysztof Opaliński*, p.100; see his PSB entry.

⁵⁸ See chapter two on constitutionalism.

⁵⁹ All the Wazas had Jesuit advisors and tutors, though they were more prominent under Zygmunt than his son, and Jan Kazimierz himself was a Jesuit before taking the throne in 1648; see Stanisław Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej obojga narodów 1564-1668* (Kraków, 1996), pp.293-312, pp.332-345, pp.372-375.

⁶⁰ Bishop of Cujavia, votum at the Sejm, XII 1613 in BK MS 975, p.84.

⁶¹ Zbaraski to Leszczyński, BR MS 16 p.353.



he was also freely elected by them.⁶² Ostroróg was led to support the toleration settlement by the influence of Erasmus's humanism.⁶³ Łukasz Opaliński, Crown Marshal of the Court, took mixed government and religious toleration together as part of the same szlachta liberties, forming his best defence of the Commonwealth.⁶⁴ He attacked Catholic judges who used the Crown Tribunal to condemn dissenters unfairly, drawing on the rhetoric of the Warsaw Confederation to argue that judges who disturbed the peace should be dismissed.⁶⁵ Such tolerant Catholics only began to change their tune after the Deluge. Łukasz Opaliński, affirmed the exclusive authority of the Roman Church against heretics, "that is those, who form a new group and create a separate church... obdurate, and resisting authority", in the late 1650s.⁶⁶

Tolerant Catholicism remained definitive among Great Poland's leaders throughout the later seventeenth century. Rafał Leszczyński's grandson Rafał (1650-1703), the general starosta, affirmed religious liberty for Leszno. His son Stanisław (1677-1766), future King of Poland, gained his earliest education at the Czech Brethren school in Leszno. Jan Opaliński (1629-1684), another general starosta, balanced new Catholic foundations with allowing Lutheran christenings and mixed Catholic-Lutheran marriages in his towns.⁶⁷ Even at the turn of the eighteenth century, the highest officials in Great Poland preserved the sixteenth-century spirit of openness to non-Catholics.

Catholic opinion was thus wide-ranging in response to toleration; dissenters found plenty of allies at the highest level. Of the six most influential regional Catholic families, the most powerful three – Leszczyński, Opaliński and Ostroróg – were mixed in their attitudes, a further two were strong Catholic Reformers – Czarnkowski and Gostomski – and one – Przyjemski – was consistently tolerant. This was not mere lipservice to religious liberty but genuine personal and political involvement, from which all parties benefited, as chapter two will show. Mixed Protestant and Catholic marriages and funerals occurred throughout the Commonwealth.⁶⁸

⁶² BK MS 325, p.596.

⁶³ Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, pp.183ff, p.291, pp.318-321.

⁶⁴ Opaliński, *Polonia defensa*, pp.101-125.

⁶⁵ The priest and the landowner agreed on this in Opaliński, *Rozmowa plebana*, pp.116-117.

⁶⁶ Łukasz Opaliński, *Pauli Naecoli de officiis libri tres* (1659) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Mysł*, pp.695-698.

⁶⁷ See their PSB entries, for Stanisław Leszczyński see his WPSB entry.

⁶⁸ See chapter 2.3 and appendix on landholding; on other provinces see Tazbir, *Państwo*, pp.141-143.

There was a broad consensus that religious peace reinforced public peace, though the methods of achieving this were controversial. Both the Jesuit Skarga and Lutheran superintendent Gliczner acknowledged that toleration was the pragmatic solution to religious and political conflict.⁶⁹ Dissenters did not need to belong to one church to defend themselves; the fact that dissenters were also szlachta was enough.

1.2: Szlachta Responses

The szlachta response to the Warsaw Confederation was varied; despite resistance led by the Catholic hierarchy, the settlement gained broader support. The settlement defined all confessions equally as differing, *dissidentes in religione*. Though the settlement itself survived until 1767, in practice it was eroded before then; the narrowing of the term *dissidentes* to exclude Catholics, and Socinians, parallels the decline in dissenter political influence.⁷⁰ The following analysis traces how the Confederation was applied up to 1648, through political reactions to it and the extent of religious unrest.

1.2.1: The Politics of Toleration

Unlike their Catholic counterparts, even eminent dissenter clergy were not nobles. So they were not covered by the 1573 settlement, which was confined to the szlachta, making noble patronage of dissenter parishes even more important.⁷¹ Protestant church structures were not recognised by the state in the Polish Kingdom; there were no authorised church courts, so dissenter marriages and wills could be questioned, with implications for inheritance law.⁷² Dissenters were aware of this and campaigned for such differences to be eradicated. They protested to the 1630 Sejm that their wills were not recognised, since they were not written into the *gród* court books.⁷³ Dissenters

⁶⁹ Piotr Skarga, "Upomnienie do ewangelików" (Kraków, 1592) in Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.177-216 (p.191); Gliczner, *Appellatia*, p.Aiiiir.

⁷⁰ Opalinski, "Sejmiki szlacheckie" pp.25ff.

⁷¹ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.45-47.

⁷² Stanisław Salmonowicz, "O sytuacji prawnej protestantów w Polsce" in *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne* 26 nr. 1 (1974), pp.159-173 (p.166); in Lithuania courts recognised dissenter churches, from the *gród* to the Crown Tribunal; Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, p.165.

⁷³ ABC 2057, p.6.

allied with Catholics for the political realisation of the Confederation in the sejmiki and the Sejm.

How the rulers expected to fulfil their accession oath is a matter of some debate. Zygmunt III is generally regarded as a devout Catholic, and did much to promote his co-confessionalists despite his support for a few prominent dissenters. Zygmunt allowed his Lutheran sister Anna to hold church services at the royal castle of Wawel, which Kraków citizens could also attend, and granted office to eminent dissenters such as Janusz and Krzysztof (1585-1640) Radziwiłł, successive Palatines of Wilno. Although Zygmunt III's biographer focuses on prominent examples of his toleration – English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644) wrote that he had no objection to singing Protestant hymns! – his rule saw declining numbers of non-Catholic senators and church buildings used by dissenters returned to their original Catholic owners. Though papal nuncios found Zygmunt indifferent to church matters, he was happy to use the resources of the Catholic Church for his own ends. His sons Karol Ferdinand (1625-1655) and Jan Olbracht (1612-1634) became Bishops of Wrocław and Warmia, aged eleven and nine respectively, not without much protest at this irregularity in the Sejm.⁷⁴

Władysław IV received broad support on his election from dissenters who believed he would better guarantee liberty of conscience than his father had. Moments of Władysław's reign certainly can be read as milestones towards greater toleration, namely the *compositio inter status* of 1635 and Colloquium Charitativum of 1645, discussed below. These were offset in his biographers' eyes by an indifference to attacks on dissenters; both cite the Tumult of Wilno which destroyed the city's Reformed church; in this Władysław differed little from his father.⁷⁵ At the same time, the number of dissenter churches increased significantly under Władysław's rule due to new foundations, largely for immigrants.⁷⁶ The younger Waza's non-interventionist approach suited his szlachta better. Since he accommodated different confessional interests, Władysław faced less opposition from Catholics and non-Catholics, as chapter four will show.

⁷⁴ See 2.2 on changes in the Catholic church under Zygmunt and Wisner, *Zygmunt III*, p.194, pp.221-222.

⁷⁵ Czapliński, *Władysław IV*, p.345; Wisner, *Władysław IV*, pp.141-143.

⁷⁶ See chapter 3.3.2.

Royal policy was honed and challenged by the szlachta in their diets. Great Poland's sejmiki, fora for active Catholics and non-Catholics, viewed toleration as more than religious peace – it was liberty of conscience, seen as one of the szlachta's rights. Of these the Środa sejmik, where many regional leaders began their political careers, was one of the largest and most vocal in the Commonwealth.⁷⁷ The 1597 Środa sejmik listed the “process *inter dissidentes de religione*” as one of many *gravamina* including *senatus praesentia*, the need for resident senators to represent szlachta interests to the crown. The Środa sejmik wanted to extend the Confederation, requesting a *proces konfederacji* every time it met up to 1606. Thereafter the sejmik instructions to the Sejm were just as demanding, saying exactly how the Confederation ought to be applied; dissenters should be equally treated before the courts, and receive justice after tumults.⁷⁸ These instructions almost always followed an article on toleration with an article on *compositio inter status*, connecting two priorities included in the Warsaw Confederation. The *compositio* would define clergy and szlachta spheres of material and legal influence, the best way to guarantee toleration in practice.

Regional szlachta of all confessions united behind the sejmik instructions, reacting to tumults but also in years of calm, showing the sejmik's commitment to the Confederation. This was not just a matter of preventing unrest, but of the principle of rights for all confessions as equals; “To assure that *dissidentes in religione* be preserved in peace and that they receive justice in their matters. The administration of such justice should be *sine praeiudicio utriusque partis tam per quam diversae religionis*.”⁷⁹

After every Poznań tumult the Środa sejmik defended dissenters at the Sejm.⁸⁰ The sejmik reacted especially strongly against Zygmunt's failure to deal with the 1618 Poznań tumult; the szlachta refused to pay taxation until it was settled, blaming the unrest on the Catholic clergy and the city of Poznań. This was no mere anti-clericalism, since the sejmik was also concerned about

⁷⁷ See 2.2 on the role of Środa in Commonwealth government.

⁷⁸ Sejmik of 14 XII 1587 BR MS 243, p.4; Sejmiki of 31 I 1589, 4 VIII 1592, 25 II 1593, 8 I 1597, 26 I 1598, 12 I 1600, 30 XII 1602, 16 XII 1604, 9 II 1606, 13 I 1615, 8 III 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.78, p.158, p.163, p.200, p.207, p.222, p.256, p.262, pp.276ff., pp.461-462, pp.486-487; Sejmiki of 2 I 1618 in idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, pp.46-47.

⁷⁹ Sejmik 8 III 1616 Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.487.

⁸⁰ The Środa sejmik wanted chancellery rulings against dissenters annulled and the Confederation respected after the 1601 Poznań tumult; sejmik 3 V 1601, BR MS 231, p.7. Sejmik instructions on tumults

toleration of Catholic minorities. The same instruction called for commissioners to investigate the grievances of the Dominican monks facing discrimination in Toruń.⁸¹

Once there were no more tumults in Great Poland, the Środa sejmik turned its attention to toleration elsewhere. It protested against the ruling after the 1627 tumult in Lublin, saying the Tribunal should treat dissenters equally and justly; “decrees *in vim legis*, concerning relations *inter dissidentes de religione* should not be produced *in futurum*, and if there are any, they should not harm anyone, since internal peace should be preserved”.⁸² The sejmik also defended dissenters’ right to peaceful funerals in 1638, again condemning unjust Tribunal rulings.⁸³ Środa called for Catholic and Protestant liberty of conscience in Toruń, sending a letter of support to the city after the Bishop of Chełm protested that dissenters were discriminating against Catholics there.⁸⁴ It was the only sejmik to send instructions on dissenter issues to the 1649 coronation Sejm.⁸⁵ Szlachta at Środa solidly supported the Warsaw Confederation under both of the first two Wazas.

Great Poland’s szlachta used the Confederation to defend Catholic as well as non-Catholic minorities, reinforcing the 1573 understanding of all confessions as equal *dissidentes de religione*. Poznań and Kalisz’s sejmik was also concerned about liberty of conscience for the Catholic minority in Gdańsk and Toruń, where non-Protestants did not have access to town law, as their instruction of 1634 shows.⁸⁶ This was politically acknowledged at Commonwealth level; the 1638 constitution “*Poena on those who violant jura religionis Catholicae Romanae in the Prussian cities*” made obstructing Catholic freedom of worship, office-holding and trading punishable by a fine of 500 złoty.⁸⁷ Catholic-dominated Sieradz actively defended the Warsaw Confederation well into the 1630s; thereafter the issue was simply not debated, causing no division.⁸⁸

after the Czech Brethren’s Poznań church was burnt in 1606, and appealing for royal justice for dissenters after the 1614 tumult; Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, p.104; Sejm diary 1615 UAM MS 684, p.144.

⁸¹ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, p.143; sejmik 2 I 1618, *Akta 1616-1632*, p.47.

⁸² Sejmik 31 VIII 1627, BK MS 231, p.198. Środa reiterated its calls for a commission and non violence towards dissenters after the Lublin tumult; sejmik of 11 IX 1630, BR MS 231 p.235.

⁸³ 1638 Sejmik, BK MS 231, p.365.

⁸⁴ Letter of 27 VII 1639 in BR MS 233, p.237.

⁸⁵ Ochmann, *Sejm koronacyjny*, p.195.

⁸⁶ 1634 sejmik in BR MS 231, p.316; see also Opaliński, “Sejmiki szlacheckie”, p.25.

⁸⁷ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.453; see also below on Środa and toleration for Catholics in Toruń.

⁸⁸ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, pp.109-111.

The genesis of the Warsaw Confederation had shown that dissenters were a deciding force in the political nation and they used this leverage in the Sejm to affirm and extend their freedom. Sejm constitutions and debates defined toleration further for the realities of its execution, especially by banning tumults. Just as the toleration settlement was passed in a climate of concern for religious peace without a monarch, the constitutions on tumults covered the periods when the monarch was abroad, pursuing dynastic claims in Sweden. The first constitution in 1593 ruled that the starosta and city authorities should preside over judgements on tumults, with the Royal and Lithuanian Tribunals acting as courts of appeal. The punishment was 300 złoty for participating in a tumult, or death for bloodshed. A permanent constitution in 1596 established a process for taking appeals before the crown at the Sejm, together with the criminal cases, and their investigation by royal commission. This constitution was given extra authority by the royal seal and the additional phrase "By the personal order of his Majesty the King".⁸⁹ Though attempts to extend the constitution, made by the senators in 1595 and dissenters in 1606 failed, the constitution on tumults was renewed for a royal expedition to Sweden in 1598. Thus the Confederation was extended, with laws now specifically referring to violence against property as well as persons.⁹⁰

The 1611 Sejm shows how dissenters took control of decision-making, led by szlachta from Great Poland. Preparations for this Sejm were made through the Brethren szlachta synod, which put their parliamentarians to work. Czech Brethren parliamentarian Marcin Broniewski took charge of the response to the Kraków and Wilno tumults of that year and his colleague and co-confessionalist Jan Schlichting was delegated to discuss Poznań dissenter grievances with the general starosta.⁹¹ Dissenters refused to fund taxation for the war against Moscow until their own demands were fulfilled. Their priority was the tumult of Wilno, and through Broniewski and Jan Ostroróg's mediation they achieved a compromise; royal commissioners were sent to Wilno. Thus the Sejm reached a successful conclusion, despite clergy

⁸⁹ *Volumina legum*. t.2, pp.342-343.

⁹⁰ Proposals printed in Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.68, p.85, pp.177-178.

⁹¹ 29 VI 1611 Synod, ABC 1465, p.9.

criticism led by the Bishop of Kraków.⁹² The Chamber of Deputies stated that the 1573 *Pacta Conventa* were the common basis for dissenter security.⁹³ Prominent dissenter senators and deputies from Great Poland signed a protest on the royal commission's prejudicial treatment of non-Catholics.⁹⁴ This Sejm passed a new constitution on public security, banning "*insolentiae*" in public places, including the courts, sejmiki and churches, with special reference to the use of firearms.⁹⁵

Dissenters used their influence constructively, refusing to be held responsible for making other policy decisions fail. For example, opponents of Zygmunt III's plans to challenge Sweden tried to block the legislation to enable this by enlisting dissenter support to break up the Sejm in 1593; they were unsuccessful.⁹⁶ In 1615, dissenters allied with Catholic szlachta against the Roman clergy to call for a *compositio* limiting clergy jurisdictions and the promotion of non-Catholics in office. They faced opposition led by the papal nuncio. Zygmunt refused to concede to dissenter demands, so this Sejm was fruitless. The diet a year later was productive however, restoring good working relations between estates.⁹⁷ Dissenters including Broniewski again suspended the process of the 1618 Sejm when Zygmunt delayed on settlement of episcopal vacancies, yet the Sejm continued working thereafter, giving the crown full support for the Moscow war.⁹⁸

The 1627 campaign for dissenter rights had a lasting impact. At this Sejm, the dissenters asked Zygmunt to reverse the recent Crown Tribunal ruling against them as instigators of the Lublin tumult. They argued that the judgement undermined all szlachta liberty by placing nobles at the whim of the clergy in the Crown Tribunal.⁹⁹ Rafał Leszczyński was most active against the Tribunal judgement, since his soldiers were accused of starting it. He gained the Catholic Jerzy Zbaraski's support to make a legal case, and convinced the Sejm to annul the ruling.¹⁰⁰ The 1627 Sejm ruled that Crown Tribunal judgements could be overturned if they challenged existing law,

⁹² Byliński, *Sejm z roku 1611*, pp.148-153, pp.188ff.

⁹³ Sejm diary 1611 in BK MS 313, pp.17-18.

⁹⁴ Marcin Broniewski, Rafał Leszczyński, Władysław Przyjemski, and Zygmunt Grudziński signed the 1611 protest; copy in ABC 2923.

⁹⁵ *Volumina legum*. t.3, p.6.

⁹⁶ Jaromiński, *Bez użycia siły*, p.51.

⁹⁷ Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, p.86, p.202.

⁹⁸ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.142-143.

⁹⁹ Dissenter appeal to the crown of 1627 in ABC 2056.

condemned the innocent, or disturbed religious peace. “If any decrees or clauses are to be found which *vim legis saperent* or disturb the public peace, as is the case with some *additamenta* in certain decrees from the last Lublin Tribunal, no-one shall be bound by such decrees, and of course they shall *nullati subesse*.”¹⁰¹ This constitution was frequently recalled, not only in relation to Protestants, but also to the Orthodox.¹⁰²

A new departure, an official acknowledgement that Catholics caused tumults, was a constitution of 1631 on the “preservation of public peace”. “Since on the pretext of Catholic religion, licentious people are causing various tumults and violences in our Lands which disturb the public peace and cause great *inconvenientia*: We, desiring to preserve *publicum securitatem et pacem* in our Lands and to prevent such licence; against those who dare *publicam securitatem violare* with tumults and unrest, we order a *forum* at the Tribunal, *inter causas recentis criminis*: we wish that they be punished *poenis contra violatores pacis publicae sancitis*.”¹⁰³ This followed the attacks on Protestant houses in Kraków that year.

During the 1632 interregnum, a modified Confederation gained supporters. The phrase *salvis iuribus Ecclesiae Catholicae Romanae* was added. This extra security to the Catholic Church gained the Confederation broader recognition; many more Catholics approved it and 60 more senators and Sejm envoys signed it than in 1573. The original settlement had 98 signatories of which a minority of 41 were Catholic; in 1632 there were 150, with many more adherents of the Roman Church.¹⁰⁴

Great Poland’s political class wanted more than a religious truce; specific measures to extend liberty of conscience were included in the province’s instructions to the new king. Great Poland led the toleration debate in this interregnum, championing the rights of Protestants in towns; freedom of worship and ownership of their parish church in Lutheran Bydgoszcz, and city status for Czech Brethren Leszno.¹⁰⁵ Rafał Leszczyński presented dissenter

¹⁰⁰ Rafał Leszczyński to Jerzy Zbaraski 20 VI 1627 and his reply in BR MS 16, pp.350-353.

¹⁰¹ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.264.

¹⁰² *Volumina legum* t.3, 1638 Sejm pp.443-444.

¹⁰³ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.326.

¹⁰⁴ Jan Seredyka, *Rzeczpospolita w ostatnich latach Zygmunta III* (Opole, 1978), pp.196-197.

¹⁰⁵ On Leszno see the Środa sejmik 10 VI 1632, for Bydgoszcz see the 1633 coronation Sejm, in BR MS 231, p.291, p.311, p.315.

proposals to the election Sejm; affirming that “*dissidentes* are equal in everything to the Catholic lords”. Although some such as Jan Bykowski, Starosta of Sieradz, challenged this, other regional Catholics backed the dissenters.¹⁰⁶ Thus in 1632 all the szlachta at Środa condemned tumults and reaffirmed the 1573 Confederation, committing themselves to justice as well as peace, as they had in previous instructions to the Sejm.¹⁰⁷

Dissenters published a common statement in the interregnum of 1632, putting their rights at the centre of the debate on Commonwealth reform, covering issues from office holding to court judgements. The statement called for tribunal rulings against dissenter liberties to be repealed, free worship for all confessions, the right to build and keep their own churches, and promises of security against discrimination from the clergy and *Hetman* (army commander). The Catholic clergy response conceded that tribunal rulings should be reviewed and dissenters should never be discriminated against in office or treated violently, but denied the right to public worship as a threat to public order.¹⁰⁸

The 1632 version of the Confederation shows how toleration had moved on during Zygmunt III's reign. Three additional clauses were inserted to the Confederation, all of which reflected the difficulties dissenters had faced under Zygmunt and sought to remedy these for the future. The resulting text was a stronger commitment to freedom from violence and to worship. The Tribunal rulings of 1627 which “*vim legis sapiunt, contra securitatem et pacem dissidentium latal in quilibet Officio*” should not be executed, according to the Sejm constitution of that year. The new version declared all mandates from the Royal Chancellery issued under Zygmunt III which “disturb *pacem inter dissidentes*” invalid. This version of the Confederation spelled out freedom of worship as the dissenters had requested, which had not been written down in previous editions. Private worship was affirmed as a dissenter right, and the Confederation now allowed public worship “in royal towns where *in praesenti* in churches erected by themselves for this purpose, *dissidentes* have *publicum religionis exercitium* now and in the future, shall have *tali* and now *usu*. And where they do not have churches for this purpose, they should not erect any,

¹⁰⁶ 1632 Election Sejm diary in BC MS 363, pp.384ff.

¹⁰⁷ Środa sejmik 10 VI 1632 in BR MS 231, pp.270-271.

¹⁰⁸ *Puncta dissidentium de religione nates Convocatio podane interregnum 1632* in BK MS 991, pp.275ff.

evitandos tumultus: however they may conduct their private services in private houses and for those who travel safely to them.” This was easier to grant in a context where dissenters no longer had their own churches in the major royal cities.¹⁰⁹

The new Confederation also condemned clergy attacks on other confessions. This covered Catholic and Protestant clerics, who were to be tried for breach of religious peace in criminal courts on “matters *violatae securitatis dissidentium* ... Except if a *persona mere spiritualis in crimine* has been *deprehensa* he shall be *tradi officio spirituali*, and there *praevia inquisitione judicari*, Ministers also *in religione dissidentium*, if they are charged by anyone *ex quacunque occasione* shall not have a *forum*, only *in officio saeculari competenti*, *ratione quarumvis rerum et injuriarum*: and shall present their grievances *in causis ex ipsorum actoratu forum citati competens sequi*.”

So the Confederation was securely established by the end of Zygmunt's reign. While the Catholic Church was stronger, and the Confederation reflected this, dissenter guarantees were also strengthened by the settlement, which received broader support and went into more detail about how to preserve confessional harmony. The 1635 Sejm was a great success for dissenters; it passed the *compositio*, constitutions on the Orthodox and a further constitution on tumults, affirming all previous rulings and reiterating the responsibilities of the royal courts on investigating these matters.¹¹⁰ Only in 1640 did the Czech Brethren mention any decline in toleration, though they remained confident that they could overcome this as they were armed with the royal oath, *szlachta* liberty and dissenter senatorial backing.¹¹¹

In the 1648 interregnum, Great Poland's Jan Schlichting was the first deputy to defend liberty of conscience, re-opening the debate on tribunal judgements and leading the discussion thereafter.¹¹² Again dissenters produced a collective statement.¹¹³ As in 1632, this focused on unjust tribunal rulings, drawing on the Sejm decision to invalidate these from 1627. Other common

¹⁰⁹ *Volumina legum*. t.3, p.346.

¹¹⁰ *Volumina legum* t.3, pp.407-408.

¹¹¹ 8 III 1640 synod, ABC 1504, pp.28ff.

¹¹² Convocation Sejm diary 1648 in BC MS 378, pp.582ff.

¹¹³ *Grauamina dissidentium de religione tak trybunalskie iako z inszych miast w Koronie na Convocathey Warszawskiej 1648* in BJ MS 90, pp.7b ff.

concerns included the right to hold funerals undisturbed, and protest against exclusion from office by the patricate in royal towns. The 1648 Confederation was almost identical to that of 1632. The clause on judging cases of religious conflict according to the 1631 constitution was extended to Lithuania, and there was one additional clause assuring that “The Greek Religion, *incorporata* with the Rus nation, be completely preserved according to its ancient rights and privileges.”¹¹⁴

Thus dissenters had a decisive impact on government in the Sejm and interregna. The achievements of 1627 on the Tribunal and the 1635 Sejm show that dissenters defended toleration successfully when they demonstrated how liberty of conscience was important for szlachta liberty as a whole. Dissenters ensured that consensus was reached over toleration, so that other government matters could be dealt with; only in 1615 did the Sejm fail to enact legislation after disagreement on toleration, and the Sejm the next year healed this rift. The legal term *dissidentes in religione* only came to mean ‘dissenters from Catholicism’ in a majority of Commonwealth sejmiki in 1648.¹¹⁵ Before this, non-Catholics called themselves ‘dissenters’ as a polemical tool to remind others of their rights under the Confederation, as Rafał Leszczyński had done in 1632. In 1609, the assembly of Poznań and Kalisz dissenters protesting against Andrzej Opaliński, Bishop of Poznań’s attempt to close one of their churches, used the same tactic; “we personally, being of a different religion to his holiness the bishop, do not recognise him as our pastor”.¹¹⁶

The Socinians felt the first legal restriction on toleration. As early as 1598, Środa stated that the Warsaw Confederation did not cover Socinians, reiterating this in 1602 and 1604.¹¹⁷ Great Poland’s dissenters led the defence of Socinians in the 1632 interregnum.¹¹⁸ The Socinians faced difficulties later in Władysław’s reign. At their centre of Raków in Little Poland in 1638, two students were charged with throwing stones at a crucifix, causing a riot. The Raków community, including its school and press, was closed down by royal

¹¹⁴ *Volumina legum*. t.4, p.75.

¹¹⁵ Opaliński, “Sejmiki szlacheckie”, p.27.

¹¹⁶ 14 IX 1609 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.393. See 1.2.2 for more on this conflict.

¹¹⁷ Środa, 26 I 1598, 30 XII 1602 and 16 XII 1604, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.207, p.256, p.262.

¹¹⁸ Henryk Wisner, “Aby się... nowokrzęństwo nie szerzyło: katolicy – dysydenci – arianie w dobie bezkrólewia 1632 i 1648” in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 24 (1979), pp.101-108 (p.104).

decree.¹¹⁹ Yet the Socinians continued publishing and relocated to other churches.¹²⁰

In 1647 Socinan minister Jonasz Schlichting's works were condemned by Sejm decree; his books were to be burnt and their author banished.¹²¹ His *List apologetyczny* (1648) challenged anti-Socinian prejudice: "don't you see that the guarantee of peace [the Confederation] gives everyone the right to define the content and limits of the Christian faith according to his own conscience?"¹²² Though condemned to death by the Sejm court, he returned home after just two years. The Socinians were formally expelled only during the Deluge, in 1658. This ruled that adherents of the "sect", judged according to the 1424 act on heresy, were to be punished by death, and given three years grace to leave Poland-Lithuania.¹²³ The act of banishment was reissued yearly between 1659 and 1661, by which time the Socinians were supposed to have left the country, yet no Socinians were executed. They held annual synods in Poland up until 1662.¹²⁴ Though their estates were to be confiscated, this took half a century, continuing up to 1701. There is also evidence of exiled Socinians returning to Poland.¹²⁵ Even the Socinian case indicates that though toleration was increasingly challenged, dissenters only faced real setbacks with the Swedish invasion in 1655.¹²⁶

The legal position of the Orthodox presents a revealing comparison with that of Protestant dissenters. The Orthodox had a far longer established status as a church of the *Rzeczpospolita*, which the Union of Brześć in 1596, when their hierarchy was absorbed into Catholicism, had damaged more greatly than any incursions on the Protestant churches. Constitutions of 1607 and 1618 affirmed freedom of worship to the non-Uniate Orthodox Church, and their rights to their church lands. The fine for breaking the public peace according to the 1609 constitution was three times as high than for attacks on Protestants; 10,000 złoty, suggesting that the Orthodox faced more violence. Released from the pressure of civil war, Zygmunt III was less keen to resolve

¹¹⁹ Earl Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism, Socinianism and its Antecedents* (Harvard, 1947), pp.451ff.

¹²⁰ Zbigniew Ogonowski, *Zarys Dziejów Filozofii w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1989), p390; Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes*, p.455.

¹²¹ BN MS 6642, p.9.

¹²² Copy in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.656-673.

¹²³ *Volumina legum t.4*, pp.238-239.

¹²⁴ Szczotka, "Synody arian", pp.88ff., pp.96-97.

¹²⁵ Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes*, pp.67ff; cf. chapter 3 for details on the Socinians in Great Poland.

Orthodox matters, referring them to future Sejms. The *Pacta Conventa* on his son's accession included the promise to ease the concerns the Orthodox had raised at the election; an acknowledgement that the Uniate Church could not embrace all Orthodox.¹²⁷ Władysław grasped the nettle; under constitutions of 1635 and 1647 many churches returned to the original Orthodox owners, in a period when former Catholic buildings were being returned from dissenter hands, while a 1641 constitution reaffirmed their right to freedom of worship.¹²⁸ Orthodox status was on the way to being restored to pre-1596 levels. There are no such parallel constitutions for the signatory churches of Sandomierz. As with Protestantism, the bone of contention was church property – this issue was also resolved under Władysław, though the *compositio* also helped Protestants. Property rights were the issue that brought confessional conflict onto the streets – the greatest test the Confederation faced in practice.

1.2.2: Toleration on the Streets

While szlachta citizens affirmed religious peace, church relations did not remain undisturbed among the burghers. Even in towns, szlachta influence was considerable, and a deciding factor in how the Warsaw Confederation was applied with regard to the urban population. Tumults were taken seriously as a question of public order, as successive sejmik instructions and protests show; not one disturbance went unnoticed, and all were followed by calls for religious peace.¹²⁹ Polemicists used the famous tumult at Raków in 1638 to blame dissenters for causing unrest and plundering Catholic churches. This was perceived as an extension of dissenter 'appropriation' of former Catholic parishes for their own use: "do not rob images, do not shoot at crucifixes, do not take land and tithes from the priests, or no-one will suffer you."¹³⁰

Confessional violence was limited; from the 1550s to the 1650s in the regional capitals of Poznań and Lublin, no deaths occurred, in Wilno one or two and in

¹²⁶ Salmonowicz, "O sytuacji", p.164; Opaliński, "Sejmiki szlacheckie", p.39; Wojciech Pazera, *Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od początku do końca epoki baroku* (Częstochowa, 1999), p.210.

¹²⁷ *Volumina legum* t.2, 1607 Sejm p.438, 1609 Sejm p.465; *Volumina legum* t.3, 1618 Sejm p.158, 1620 Sejm p.184, 1623 Sejm p.217, 1627 Sejm p.264, 1631 Sejm p.319, 1633 Coronation Sejm p.373.

¹²⁸ *Volumina legum* t.3, 1635 Sejm p.406; *Volumina legum* t.4, 1647 Sejm p.52, p.59.

¹²⁹ Opaliński, "Sejmiki szlacheckie", p.33.

¹³⁰ Szymon Starowolski, *Prawdziwe objaśnienie braterskiego napomnienia* (n.p. 1646) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.552-565.

Kraków around ten folk lost their lives in religious unrest.¹³¹ Tumults in Great Poland were infrequent in contrast to other provinces, due to the variety of local dissenter churches.

Tumults occurred in key royal towns. Protestant and Orthodox dissenters together prioritised liberty of conscience in cities, where it was most threatened.¹³² Noble towns were much less susceptible to royal and clerical Catholicisation. Some Catholic nobles, including Jan and Piotr Opaliński, both Palatines of Poznań, excluded dissenters from their towns. Yet royal towns with strong dissenter or tolerant patrons also guaranteed confessional diversity, despite tumults.¹³³ Aware of this, the Catholic clergy sought to limit the szlachta influence on towns.¹³⁴

Two main groups are cited as perpetrators of tumults; the Jesuits and their students, sons of the szlachta, and the “masses” of the urban population, a particular theme for Wacław Sobieski’s classic study of tumults in Poland. The line between the two groups was not so clearly drawn; of the youths involved, most were apparently apprentices against a handful of noble students.¹³⁵ There were alternative educational options to the popular Jesuit schools; the impact of youthful participation in tumults on the szlachta should therefore not be exaggerated.¹³⁶

Most unrest in Great Poland occurred in Poznań, the seat of the largest regional Jesuit College. Corpus Christi processions inflamed conflict, as in Poznań in 1596, where Jesuit students and townspeople attacked the Czech Brethren church and library. Jesuit pupils attacked the Brethren’s Poznań church in 1593, and Jesuit preacher Jan Piasecki encouraged the 1606 attacks on the Brethren and Lutheran churches. The Jesuits were also behind attacks on both parishes in 1614.¹³⁷ Marcin Broniewski confided in Krzysztof Radziwiłł his fears that they incited the population to unrest against non-Catholics. “The news that the Jesuits are spreading among people, although I take it for the most part to be gossip, I am sending to you, because

¹³¹ Tazbir, *Państwo*, p.128.

¹³² Joint statement at Wilno in 1599, ABC 1979, p.3.

¹³³ See chapter 3.3.2 on new foundations.

¹³⁴ Mieszkowski, *Polonus*, p.447.

¹³⁵ Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, pp.87-88, pp.172-178.

¹³⁶ See chapter 3.3.1 on education.

¹³⁷ Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.40, p.64, p.85, p.109, pp.151ff.; Łukaszewicz, *Wiadomość*, p.142.

it is worth knowing about such things.”¹³⁸ There were Catholics who shared this view, as their contribution to the Rokosz of Sandomierz shows.¹³⁹

The first tumult occurred in Poznań in 1592, when both Czech Brethren and Lutheran parishes were violated.¹⁴⁰ Attacks on the Brethren’s Poznań parish recurred until it was demolished in 1614.¹⁴¹ The Lutheran parish in the same city faced a similar fate with five attacks between 1603 and 1616.¹⁴² Throughout this period, both communities rebuilt their churches, continuing to worship in the city. In 1616 Bishop Andrzej Opaliński forbade the rebuilding of the Poznań dissenter churches, bringing a court case against the communities when they insisted on reconstruction.¹⁴³ Dissenter szlachta gathered at Ostroróg in 1617, led by the Brethren parliamentarian Marcin Broniewski and Mikołaj Latański, a Reformed patron, aiming to restore the pastors to Poznań at Easter, but the bishop prevented this by warning that their persistence would cause another tumult. On Easter Monday the two churches were destroyed. This was a double blow as both buildings were legally dissenter property; the Lutherans had built theirs and the Brethren’s was secured by royal decree.¹⁴⁴

After all regional tumults, a royal commission with dissenter members was set up to investigate, as in Poznań in 1606 and 1614.¹⁴⁵ There were three dissenters on the 1618 commission, including Rafał Leszczyński. Marcin Broniewski doubted whether this was enough, but Rafał took responsibility for the case.¹⁴⁶

Szlachta protection secured dissenters within noble and royal towns outside the regional capital. Rafał and his son Bogusław Leszczyński confirmed the rights of Czech Brethren and Lutherans to worship in their town of Leszno. As Rafał said in his privilege, he wanted “alle unser Evangelische Bürger” to live

¹³⁸ Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł in letters of 19 VII 1614, 18 XI 1622 and (cited) 9 IV 1624, ARV 1419, p.48, p.317, p.510.

¹³⁹ See chapter 4.2.2 on the Jesuits.

¹⁴⁰ Jan Seredyka, “Geneza komisji posejmowej z 1618 r. powołanej w związku z antydysydenckimi tumultami w Poznaniu” in Stanisław Grodzicki (ed.), *Parlament, prawo, ludzie: Studia ofiarowane J Bardachowi* (Warszawa, 1996), pp.242-248 (p.242).

¹⁴¹ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, pp.92-93, p.102.

¹⁴² Rhode, *Geschichte*, p.61.

¹⁴³ Seredyka, “Geneza komisji”.

¹⁴⁴ See Zygmunt III’s ruling on the tumult (26 III 1617) in Broniewski’s letter to Krzysztof Radziwiłł (21 II 1618), ARV 1419, p.105; Środa sejmik condemns the tumult 30 VII 1618; BR MS 231, p.110.

¹⁴⁵ APMP Poznań Gr. 662 (1604-7), p.724; 1614 Royal instruction to Adam Czarnkowski, the future general starosta, BK MS 325, pp.244-245.

together in peace. Bogusław too encouraged the Lutherans to resolve conflicts locally rather than appealing to Wittenberg.¹⁴⁷ Rafał wrote to the theologians of Wittenberg, stressing that the two confessions could live together since the Sandomierz Consensus embraced both. The response acknowledges the Czech Brethren, despite theological differences, recognising that Czechs exiled for opposing Catholicism have also settled in Germany.¹⁴⁸

In royal towns like Wschowa and Międzyrzecz, which were mainly Protestant, noble patronage ensured dissenter protection despite royal efforts to restore Catholicism.¹⁴⁹ The local Brethren patron, Sędziwój Ostroróg, was on the commission following a tumult in Wschowa in 1604; he became Starosta of Wschowa in 1616, and his predecessor and successor also supported dissenters.¹⁵⁰ It took a year before the town council enacted Zygmunt's 1603 proclamation which returned the Lutheran church to Catholic hands; six months later he issued a decree banning Lutheran preaching in the town hall. He repeated this in 1607, causing a tumult.¹⁵¹ The visit of Catholic and royal officials investigating a Wschowa parish that year incited the Lutheran population to attack the priest, protesting against the return of the bells to his church. The populace violently rang the bells, and over a hundred people moved to attack and kill the officials. Fortunately the officials reached the parish church and hid there until the tumult had died down, then went straight to the *gród* court to report the incident. Only the Lutheran minister was able to calm the crowd.¹⁵² When the Czech Brethren arrived in 1627, Zygmunt III issued mandates to prevent them settling in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Wschowa's town council responded that it could not prevent the new dissenters from staying there.¹⁵³ In 1631, Wschowa won an important victory: a decree stating that all matters relating to conflicts between the church and town were now to be tried in the assessor's court which took appeal cases from cities. Such cases would now avoid the Crown Tribunal, where Catholic

¹⁴⁶ Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 26 III 1617 and 91 XII 1618 in ARV 1419, pp.105-107, p.131.

¹⁴⁷ Rafał's privilege, 4 XI 1633; Bogusław's privilege, 27 II 1638, in ABC 2530, pp.181-187, pp.249-251.

¹⁴⁸ Lutherans did not use exorcism in baptism, unlike the Brethren. Rafał's letter and Wittenberg response on 10 VII 1634, ABC 1987, pp.1-4, pp.34-39.

¹⁴⁹ Janusz Tazbir, "Społeczny i terytorialny zasięg polskiej reformacji" in *Kwartalnik historyczny* 82 nr. 4 (1975), pp.723-735 (p.726); Jolanta Dworaczekowa, "Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast królewskich Wielkopolski" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 10 (1965), pp.53-80 (p.78).

¹⁵⁰ Earlier, Rafał Leszczyński, who defended Wschowa's Lutheran minister against a Crown Tribunal judgement, later, Hieronim Radomicki; see their PSB entries.

¹⁵¹ Jolanta Dworaczekowa, "Kontrereformacja we Wschowie 1577-1632" in *Roczniki historyczne* 36 (1970), pp.1-42 (pp.21-27).

¹⁵² APMP Wschowa Gr.29 (1606-7), p.422.

¹⁵³ Jolanta Dworaczekowa, *Z dziejów Braci Czeskich w Polsce* (Poznań, 2003), p.102.

deputies discriminated against other denominations. In 1633, Lutheran numbers increased when a new town was founded next to the old Wschowa. Five years later, the Bishops of Kraków and Poznań promised at the Sejm to prevent parish priests from initiating legal cases against dissenters. Despite royal mandates, like that of 1638 calling for Catholic members on the town council, it stayed Lutheran. Though church land was returned to Catholicism, the population kept its Lutheran faith.¹⁵⁴

In 1609, Lutherans, Brethren and Calvinists produced an appeal to the General Starosta, Archbishop of Gniezno and Bishop of Poznań against attacks on dissenter churches in Poznań and Międzyrzecz.¹⁵⁵ A month later nearly 70 szlachta published in Poznań's *gród* court an appeal to the crown against the Bishop's closure of a new dissenter building in Międzyrzecz. This stressed that the matter was one of secular jurisdiction, that the bishop was breaking the 1565 constitution that szlachta courts should not enforce ecclesiastical judgements, and the ruling also limited royal power over burghers.¹⁵⁶ The Lutheran community survived in Międzyrzecz for 150 years.¹⁵⁷

Property rights were what the Catholic hierarchy and crown sought to control; this was also most contentious in relations with the 'Greek Church', as the constitutions have shown. The end of tumults coincided with the return of Catholic church buildings which dissenters had occupied since the Reformation. Dissenters were moving their churches out of the reach of the crown and Catholic clerics, to the security of towns and villages owned by sympathetic szlachta.

Yet in Poznań, as in Wschowa, dissenter presence continued despite the lack of a church building within its walls. In 1592, the Lutherans relocated just outside Poznań city boundary. Once their patron Stanisław Górka, Palatine of Poznań died they could no longer meet in his palace (later a Benedictine nunnery). Reformed Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz, founded a

¹⁵⁴ Dworzaczkowa, "Kontreformacja". Unfortunately the assessors' court records were destroyed; see introduction.

¹⁵⁵ Czech Brethren Synod at Poznań, 15 V 1609 ABC 1458, p.11.

¹⁵⁶ APMP Poznań Gr. 663 (1608-9), pp.744ff.

¹⁵⁷ Dworzaczkowa, "Wprowadzenie reformacji", p.73-4; Theodor Wotschke, "Die Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinde in Meseritz bis 1604" in *Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen* 21 (1906), pp.65-143.

Lutheran church and school at Swarzędz, just outside Poznań, which he gave city status in 1638.¹⁵⁸ The Poznań Czech Brethren attended services in Swarzędz from their church destruction in 1616 until 1679.¹⁵⁹ Though the Lutherans are generally thought to have left Poznań by 1618, in 1624, Zygmunt III granted permission for a Lutheran hospital to be built in Poznań, eight years after their church there had been destroyed, and their parishes were re-established.¹⁶⁰ Dissenters deflected opposition by moving out of other regional capitals, as in Wilno, where Lithuanian Calvinists closed their buildings in the city, so these parishes survived until partition.¹⁶¹ Wilno followed other key royal cities in other parts of the Commonwealth, Kraków, Lublin, and Poznań, making it the last 'regional' capital with a dissenter church, until 1640. Yet in all these cities, including Poznań, church destruction did not mean that dissenters relocated themselves; non-Catholics remained in all regional capitals, where they owned property, and worshippers gathered in their houses. Kraków is a case in point; in 1591, the last dissenter church building was lost, but dissenter szlachta had houses there forty years later; attacks on these inspired a further constitution on tumults. This constitution was applied; the students who disrupted a dissenter funeral in Kraków in 1633 were expelled from their academy and Władysław IV condemned their leader to death.¹⁶² When their Lublin church went, dissenters worshipped in the palace of Great Poland's patron Rafał Leszczyński.¹⁶³

The conflict between reformations in the *Rzeczpospolita* was thus exemplified by the desire for confessional control in key cities. Zygmunt III's restoration of churches to Catholicism were furthered by episcopal and Jesuit support; both focussed on reclaiming dissenter churches from key towns as an important symbol of Catholic success. Nevertheless, the tolerant Catholic status quo was reinstated after some years of conflict at the peak of the Catholic Reformation. Even the expulsion of dissenters from Poznań was barely achieved. In other

¹⁵⁸ See his PSB entry.

¹⁵⁹ Eduard Kneifel, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in Polen 1555-1639* (München, 1971), p.248.

¹⁶⁰ Broniewski to Radziwiłł, 5 VII 1624 in ARV 1419, p.525; dissenters had not yet found the funds and we do not know if it was built. New Lutheran institutions were founded; see 3.3.2.

¹⁶¹ The last dissenter church was destroyed in 1591 in Kraków, 1616 in Poznań, 1627 in Lublin and 1639 in Wilno. They then moved beyond the city walls; Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.155 p.158, p.160; Dziegielewski, *O tolerancję*, p.99, pp.135-138; Tazbir, *Reformacja*, p.115.

¹⁶² Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.168.

¹⁶³ See his PSB entry.

royal towns, such as Wschowa and Międzyrzecz, noble support enabled the survival of dissenter communities.

In Great Poland, the secular Catholic hierarchy accepted toleration as a 'necessary evil'; no tumults were caused by episcopal activity before the 1620s.¹⁶⁴ Bishops of Poznań like Andrzej Szołdrski sought religious peace, and Andrzej Opaliński at least distanced himself from the Poznań tumults; he felt that they were caused by dissenter presence there.¹⁶⁵ The Bishops of Poznań, Cujavia and Płock jointly supported public peace and an end to religious unrest in 1638, guaranteeing this among their flocks and clergy, and even their envoys to the Crown Tribunal.¹⁶⁶ The whole clergy came to realise, as even Skarga had decades before that religious peace at least, if not full liberty of conscience, was the only way to ensure public peace in the Commonwealth.

Dissenters' legal status remained almost unchanged from 1573 to 1648. The Warsaw Confederation gained support, particularly among Catholic szlachta, with 60 more signatories at the 1632 Sejm. This toleration was easier to grant when the Socinians were excluded from it and much church property had been returned to Catholicism. Yet tumults were limited, running their course by 1620, with little impact beyond regional capitals such as Poznań. Setbacks were offset by gains; greater recognition for the Orthodox, Sejm constitutions on tumults from 1593 to 1631, the Crown Tribunal in 1627 and *compositio* in 1635 all gave the Confederation a stronger legal basis. This was the "process" of the toleration settlement which Catholics and non-Catholics sought, as sejmik instructions show. Dissenters were protected by the nature of the Commonwealth, in which royal rule was balanced by noble liberty, allowing szlachta patronage of dissenter churches. Support for toleration continued when the number of non-Catholics was decreasing; were dissenters so weakened that they were simply no longer a threat?

¹⁶⁴ Dziegielewski, "Biskupi", pp.202-203.

¹⁶⁵ Seredyka, "Geneza komisji"; see Szoldrski's WPSB entry.

¹⁶⁶ Joint statement *quo securitatem dissidentibus*, 27 I 1638 in BR MS 48, p.205.

1.3: Churches Together

Dissenters continued to work together under Zygmunt or Władysław, though it appears they had more reason to do so, facing a thriving Catholic Reformation. Lutherans, Czech Brethren and Socinians all made significant efforts to co-operate with their fellow churches, specifically citing the Sandomierz Consensus as their touchstone. This principle was realised through uninterrupted close ties across confessions at the most local level, from sharing buildings to godparents and sacraments. Grand scale 'ecumenical' efforts were greatest when dissenter churches were strong, as in the 1560s, the late 1620s when the Czech Brethren were expanding, and in the 1640s when dissenters had real hope of greater Catholic recognition at the Colloquium Charitativum, a dialogue between confessions called by Władysław in 1645.

1.3.1: Consensus after Sandomierz

Observers of Poland at the turn of the seventeenth century were aware that no one church held sway there: "Religion in thys lande is manifold, both for manyfest opposition and diversity of sectes, which comes, for that it confynes with nations of most contrary rites, all men drawing by nature some novelty from their neighbours. And therefore borderers uppon severall religions doe never sincerely observe that of their countrey, but mixe it with borrowed superstitions."¹⁶⁷ Protestants in Poland-Lithuania united to defend their rights when necessary but did not need one confessional church, preferring to co-operate across doctrinal divides.

Polish irenicism flourished at the turn of the seventeenth century, when the focus shifted from union to pluralism. At the 1595 Synod of Toruń, Protestants affirmed Sandomierz and opened dialogue to the Orthodox. Konstanty Ostrogski (1527-1608), Palatine of Kiev, led an Orthodox delegation to the synod, which wrote calling for co-operation to defend all their liberties.¹⁶⁸ The synod affirmed the principles of Sandomierz - ceremony was a

¹⁶⁷ *Relation on the State of Polonia*, p.394.

¹⁶⁸ Letter of 1595 in *Akta synodu toruńskiego 1595*, BK MS 1693, no.2.

matter of conscience, not uniformity.¹⁶⁹ The opening sermon, by Czech Brethren minister Szymon Turnowski (1544-1608), preached that all should be called Christian, rather than by denominational names, which were different terms for the same thing. "We evangelicals in the lands of HRH (His Royal Highness) are all confessions in accordance with the scriptures who are agreed among ourselves on the basics of faith and united in real consensus".¹⁷⁰ Prominent szlachta patrons from Great Poland organised the meeting, including Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć. The joint synod at Wilno in 1599 then brought ever-closer ties with the non-Uniate Orthodox. Thereafter, dissenter patrons continued to cite Sandomierz, as in their protest against the royal commission on dissenters in 1612.¹⁷¹

Great Poland was where two of the three signatory churches of Sandomierz joined. In 1627 the Calvinists from Cujavia united with the Czech Brethren into one church. The Cujavian Calvinist minority joined the Brethren church structure; this also secured financial support for the Calvinists.¹⁷² This occurred when the Brethren had overcome their worries about absorption by the Calvinists; they were now used to the Commonwealth context, strengthened by new immigrants and distanced from their mother church. The Reformed finally realised their sixteenth-century dreams of union.

Three further synods followed in the 1630s, taking the regional union to Commonwealth level. The synod of Orla in 1633 agreed to produce a common Polish Bible, church agenda, psalms, cancional and prayer book, which was used in Lithuania too from 1644. The Bible chosen was the Cujavian elder Daniel Mikołajewski's (1560-1633) edition.¹⁷³ The Synod of Włodawa a year later divided the Gdańsk Bible for editing between the three Commonwealth provinces and Great Poland was chosen to consolidate the comments. The gathered ministers agreed to standardise divorce procedures and for superintendents to meet annually, in each province in turn.¹⁷⁴ The first synod of the united church was held at Toruń in 1636. The Reformed union followed

¹⁶⁹ *Acta et Conclusiones Synodi Generalis Toruniensis 1595 in Corpus et synagme confessorum fidei* (Geneva, 1654), p.241, p.244, p.245, p.251.

¹⁷⁰ Turnowski, *Kazania synodowe*, pp.5-6, pp.26-28, quote from p.5.

¹⁷¹ Signatories from Great Poland included Rafał Leszczyński, Władysław Przyjemski, Zygmunt Niszczyński, Marcin Broniewski and Zygmunt Grudziński, protest 11 III 1615 in ABC 2023, p.21.

¹⁷² BR MS 192, pp.137-138; Mikołaj Lubowski lends Sędziwój Chrzęstowski 1000 złoty for the Calvinists at Żydowice, 1627 in ABC 1775, p.13.

¹⁷³ Tworek, "Staranie o ujednoliczenie", p.119, pp.123-125.

in the tradition of the 1570 Consensus, respecting theological differences between the two partners. They gradually agreed on a joint creed, published in 1645.¹⁷⁵ This Reformed confessionalisation occurred by consensus from 'below', starting from Great Poland.

Great Poland's Calvinist minority produced some of the most notable theoreticians of irenicism. Bartłomiej Bythner (1560-1629) in his *Fraterna exhortatio* of 1607 called for unity between dissenters on principle; "We hold therefore that those, who judge that all dogmas and conflicts should be tried and judged to support a particular catechism or any confession of faith, are not only acting perfidiously, but also against their own confession. How can we allow ourselves to do so easily exactly that which we do not wish to allow the papists?" He stressed the role of the secular authorities in religious peace, and called for "a great universal council of all Evangelical nations" modelled on the 1595 Toruń Synod to be held in Germany, where conflict between dissenters was becoming a problem.¹⁷⁶ Bythner tried again in 1613 for a council to unite Protestants and Catholics. Though unsuccessful, his writing influenced the *Colloquium Charitativum*.¹⁷⁷

Erasmus Gliczner, the Lutheran superintendent and preacher to the Działyński family, was an 'ecumenical' pioneer, even seeking to co-operate with Catholics, and preparing a meeting with the Czech Brethren just before the Consensus of Sandomierz.¹⁷⁸ Gliczner published the Augsburg Confession in Polish, with an attached commentary defending the tradition of toleration in Poland-Lithuania. He presented copies to Czech Brethren patron Andrzej Leszczyński and Calvinist protector Krzysztof Radziwiłł.¹⁷⁹

The Lutherans in Great Poland were keen to co-operate with the Czech Brethren; they held synods together in the palace of their Górka patrons in the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁰ Great Poland's Lutherans were even prepared to accept

¹⁷⁴ Synods in Orla 1633, Włodawa 1634, Toruń 1636 and Orla 1644; see *Akta Synodalne Wilenskie 1611-51*, BOZ MS 803, p.26, pp.32-33, p.52, pp.74ff.; Orla, 1633 and Włodawa, 1634 in ABC 2541, pp.2ff., pp.5ff.

¹⁷⁵ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.41-42, p.100.

¹⁷⁶ Copy in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.605-620, main quote from p.619.

¹⁷⁷ Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.108-109; Piszcz, *Colloquium*, p.193.

¹⁷⁸ Ałoida Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Kartka z dziejów reformacji w Polsce" in Włodzimierz Dworzaczek (ed.), *Munera Litteraria ku czci Romana Pollaka* (Poznań, 1962), pp.107-120; *Colloquium et disputatio fratrum cum Erasmo Gliczner et Lutherani Posnaniae* (1570), BR MS 45; Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.21. The Czech Brethren were saddened by his death in 1603; BR MS 192, p.128.

¹⁷⁹ Erasmus Gliczner, *Appellatio, która się popiera... obrona Konfედertey* (Królewiec, 1598), p.Vii.

¹⁸⁰ Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation*, p.239.

Reformed teaching on the Eucharist in the 1560s, leading to plans for a common Eucharist agenda.¹⁸¹ There was no separate Lutheran synod in Poland until 1582, and none between 1607 and 1634.¹⁸²

The Brethren had some difficulties with the Lutherans in Poznań in the late 1590s, and considered moving their community elsewhere.¹⁸³ Gliczner quarrelled with Brethren minister Szymon Turnowski in 1592; both were concerned that the other was trying to poach members of their own congregations, against the spirit of the Consensus. It was the secular elders, the Lutheran parliamentarian Świętosław Orzelski and Czech Brother Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć, who persuaded their church leaders to resolve their differences at the Sejm of 1595, for their joint synod.¹⁸⁴

This Synod of Toruń in 1595 condemned the Lutheran superintendent Paul Gertius for aggressively promoting Lutheranism. Great Poland's Lutherans affirmed this judgement of excommunication on their own leader.¹⁸⁵ Superintendent Samuel Gliczner apologised to the Czech Brethren for his flock acting against the Sandomierz Consensus in 1609, the Brethren thereafter planned a joint synod of secular elders.¹⁸⁶ Thus encouraged by pragmatic szlachta leaders, the Lutheran clergy acknowledged where their members broke the Sandomierz Consensus.

Lutheran ministers also initiated a dialogue, asking to join the Brethren synod throughout the years of Brethren union with the Calvinists.¹⁸⁷ Thereafter the Czech Brethren sought unity with the Lutherans, writing to patrons across the Commonwealth to encourage this and planning to meet in the Lutheran town of Bojanowo in 1643.¹⁸⁸ Ties between the confessions continued on a local level; in 1642 a Lutheran priest buried the Czech Brethren minister Sebastian Melissus, and in 1649 the Brethren reiterated their friendship towards the

¹⁸¹ Kai Jørgensen, *Ökumenische Bestrebungen unter den polnischen Protestanten bis zum Jahre 1645* (Copenhagen, 1942), pp.246-247; Czech Brethren Gołuchów Synod, 27 IV 1600, ABC 1444, p.9.

¹⁸² See Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.19, p.116.

¹⁸³ Synod of Koźminek, 13 IX 1598 in ABC 1588, p.19; Synod of Poznań, 12 VI 1598, ABC 1439, p.10; Poznań synod, 1 III 1600, ABC 1443, p.10; Koźminek synod, 18 X 1602, ABC 1448, p.6. On moving, see Gołuchów synod, 27 IV 1600, ABC 1444, p.10; Kaśinowo synods, 26 IV 1602, ABC 1447, pp.10-11.

¹⁸⁴ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.45.

¹⁸⁵ Paul Gertius is judged by the Poznań Lutheran community on 17 VIII 1595 in BR MS 46, pp.9ff.

¹⁸⁶ Secular elders' synods at Poznań, 15 V 1609, ABC 1458, p.11; 1610, ABC 1463, pp.8-10; 1611, ABC 1465, pp.8-9; 27 VI 1612, ABC 1469, pp.6-7.

¹⁸⁷ Leszno synods of 16 III 1629, ABC 1478, pp.8-9; 26 IX 1629, ABC 1481, p.4; 2 VII 1633, ABC 1491, p.26; having received an invitation, they could not come; Ostroróg synod 2 V 1634, ABC 1493, p.68.

Lutherans.¹⁸⁹ Patrons led the way, as dissenter numbers decreased; Lutheran Zygmunt Guldenstern, Starosta of Sztum, patronised the Czech Brethren in the 1650s.¹⁹⁰ Under Przeclaw Leszczyński, future Starosta of Wschowa, the Czech Brethren and Lutherans in Leszno united in 1664.¹⁹¹

Polish Lutherans distanced themselves from the theological determinism of Wittenberg. This was true of both Great Poland and Royal Prussia, which preferred the irenicist “nonconfessional” approach of Philip Melancthon (1497-1560).¹⁹² German ministers came into conflict with their colleagues from Great Poland at their synods before 1607. Glicznier also faced German Lutheran criticism over his compromises with other confessions.¹⁹³

The anti-Trinitarian Socinians attempted to build bridges with other non-Catholics, despite their exclusion from the Consensus of Sandomierz. Great Poland’s Lutheran synod rejected the Socinians in 1583, still accepting the Czechs as equals.¹⁹⁴ Their superintendent Glicznier was already exchanging polemic with Socinian Schomann in the 1560s.¹⁹⁵ Yet Socinians still hoped for union with the Lutherans, as recorded at their 1594 synod in Śmigiel, their main centre in Great Poland.¹⁹⁶ Great Poland’s Socinians Walentyn Schmalz and Martin Raedecke exchanged polemic with local Czech Brethren in the early 1590s; the conflict focussed on the nature of Christ and the Trinity.¹⁹⁷ Czech Brethren ministers including Radziecki and Turnowski were suspected of Socinian influences.¹⁹⁸ The Czech Brethren sent their catechism to Raków for printing.¹⁹⁹ There were hopes for a union with the Reformed in 1611-12, when the Socinians sent a delegation, including Śmigiel minister Jan Völkel (d.1618), to their synod at Lublin. Instead, the Czech Brethren elder Sędziwój Ostroróg offered political co-operation.²⁰⁰ The Socinians sent representatives

¹⁸⁸ Leszno synods of 25 XI 1636, ABC 1497, pp.1-5; 8 V 1637, ABC 1499, p.7; 14 X 1638, ABC 1502, p.10; 29 IV 1643, ABC 1505, p.19.

¹⁸⁹ BR MS 192, p.143; Leszno synod 18 I 1649, ABC 1513, p.4.

¹⁹⁰ He donated 6000 złoty to the Brethren on 10 VI 1654, ABC 1775, p.17.

¹⁹¹ Though this may have been temporary; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.183.

¹⁹² Michael Müller, *Die zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im Königlichen Preussen* (Berlin, 1998), p.33.

¹⁹³ Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, pp.125-126; Wotschke, *Erasmus Glitzner*, p.48.

¹⁹⁴ Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, pp.98-99.

¹⁹⁵ Wotschke, *Erasmus Glitzner*, p.15.

¹⁹⁶ Luckfiel, “Der Sozinianismus”, p.174.

¹⁹⁷ Ernst Luckfiel, “Der Sozinianismus und seine Entwicklung in Grosspolen” in *Zeitschrift der historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen* 7 (1892), pp.115-187 (pp.163-165).

¹⁹⁸ Synod at Gołuchów, 16 V 1597 in ABC 1588, p.2, p.7; Czech Brethren minister Liebigly’s Socinian connections are noted; BR MS 192, p.131b.

¹⁹⁹ Ostroróg synod 14 V 1609, ABC 1457, p.10.

²⁰⁰ Szczotka, “Synody arian”, p.60, p.62.

to the Brethren synod in 1632.²⁰¹ Czech Brethren conducted Socinian funerals, without approving all their beliefs, into the 1640s.²⁰² The real conflict arose only in exile during the Deluge, when Comenius accused Socinians of trying to convert Brethren and expressed the dangers of associating with them. "How can we be friends? You have a different God, a different Christ, a different Gospel... it is dangerous to be loved by you".²⁰³

Theological differences did not prevent grassroots co-operation between Catholics and Czech Brethren either, including shared godparents.²⁰⁴ Catholic priests were converting to the Brethren as late as 1633. In turn, the Czech Brethren recognised the authenticity of Catholic clergy, confirming the validity of ministers ordained outside their confession.²⁰⁵ The Czech Brethren minister at Ostroróg, Marcin Gertrich (d.1658), also christened Catholics during plague, when they could not be taken to the next town for baptism in their own church. Many local Catholics came to hear his sermons throughout the 1620s.²⁰⁶ The Brethren in Great Poland, migrants from the state Catholicisation of the Habsburgs, became the most irenicist Polish church. They affirmed the Sandomierz Consensus as a common confession of faith as late as 1643, calling for it to be read out on feast days.²⁰⁷

After the Sandomierz Consensus, two of three signatories reached union and the third worried its church hierarchy abroad by its respect for the settlement. The Consensus was reached when dissenter churches were strong and they continued to value common action, to their mutual advantage in a multi-confessional context; they knew the denominational purism of Rome, Wittenberg and Moravia would not work in the *Rzeczpospolita*. While Czech Brethren, Calvinists and Lutherans still sought to resolve theological differences, Socinians, Catholics and Orthodox, all outside the Consensus, maintained grassroots ties and political co-operation with other confessions. These were a constant throughout Zygmunt and Władysław's reigns, with

²⁰¹ Leszno synod 28 IV 1632, ABC 1487, p.4.

²⁰² Ostroróg synod 2 V 1634, ABC 1493, p.73; this was affirmed at the Leszno synod 8 V 1637, ABC 1499k p.41; again just before the Colloquium Charitativum, Leszno synod 26 IV 1645, ABC 1511, p.41.

²⁰³ Jan Wolzogen, "Dem Herrn Comenio" and Comenius' response, in a collection on the resurrection of Jesus, Amsterdam 1659, reprinted in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.674-693 (p.690, p.693).

²⁰⁴ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.91.

²⁰⁵ Jan Przelayski is affirmed as a minister, Ostroróg synod 13 IV 1633, ABC 1490, p.64, pp.70-71.

²⁰⁶ Dworzaczkowa, *Z dziejów*, p.36.

²⁰⁷ George Vechner, *Synodalische Erinnerungspredigt* (Leszno, 1643), p.Biii, p.D; Ostroróg synod 13 IV 1633, ABC 1490, p.69.

efforts towards Commonwealth unity increasing when the chances of success seemed most real.

1.3.2: *Colloquium Charitativum*

The Colloquium was such an opportunity to reassess confessional relations at the end of Władysław IV's reign. The king called this dialogue between different confessions held at Toruń in 1644, "uidere et aduertere quid tandem illud sit, in quo Catholici et Protestantes pugnent, sibique contradictiones aduersentur." This was to be a civilised dialogue between equal partners, for which a detailed procedure was set up; "caueant collucatores vehementiam affectuum et verborum".²⁰⁸ Yet all churches who participated wondered whether Władysław the son would seek to reunite the Protestants with Rome, as Zygmunt the father had attempted to do with the Orthodox at the Union of Brześć in half a century before. Like their king, Catholic and Protestant szlachta at the Colloquium saw confessional harmony as more important than uniformity in one church, reaffirming the decision they had made in 1573.

Władysław IV's motivations were purportedly both the desire to win Papal favour by restoring church unity and, by mediating between Catholics and Protestants on a Commonwealth scale, to present himself to Protestant states as a potential mediator in the peace negotiations concluding the Thirty Years' War.²⁰⁹ His first biographer, Władysław Czapliński, finds these aspirations somewhat naïve. Perhaps Władysław did not appreciate the degree of religious division he hoped to overcome.²¹⁰

The instigator of the Colloquium, Capuchin Valerian Magni (1586-1661), was a promoter of the Uniate Church and hoped that Protestants could also be reunited with Rome. The Catholic clergy took this seriously - their preliminary meeting to the Colloquium in Warsaw claimed conversions were already occurring - though they realised that reunion was unlikely.²¹¹ Yet the meeting renewed dialogue between Catholics and non-Catholics; Czech Brethren leader

²⁰⁸ Władysław IV Waza, *Thoruniensis Colloqui indictio et leges...* (n.p. 1645), p.4.

²⁰⁹ Dziegielewski, *O tolerancję*, pp.141-142.

²¹⁰ Czapliński, *Władysław IV*, p.346.

²¹¹ *Iudicia Catholicorum quorundam in Polonia de reconciliationis in religione dissidentum impossibilitate iudicia* (n.p. 1645), p.5.

Comenius engaged in a published dialogue with Magni, in which both partners sought irenicism rather than confrontation.²¹²

Lay Catholic references to the Colloquium are fewer, but they viewed the meeting as a chance to bolster toleration. For Great Poland's Catholic leaders, the remit of the Colloquium was too narrow. Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, noted that the Socinians were excluded from the failed 1644 meeting; "Only the Arians (among whom there were a few szlachta from Lublin, two Schlichtings and Ruar, etc.) spoke up to say that they were included under one law, liberties and prerogatives and furthermore as *dissidentes ab Ecclesia Romana* they had been *provocati* and that they were now, when others stood *condissidentes*, ready to speak out and join in the *colloquium*... [the Bishop of Żmudź] added that there was no *mens* of the synod or mention of them by the King."²¹³ Although Opaliński does not comment further, the fact that he individually names clients of his, including notorious Socinian apologist Jonasz Schlichting and minister Marcin Ruar (1587-1657), and cites their rights as fellow szlachta, suggests that he wanted all dissenters included in the dialogue at Toruń.

The opening speeches show that Catholic szlachta wanted political stability and the right of different churches to co-exist, counteracting their clergy's desire to reabsorb dissenters into the universal church. Jerzy Tyszkiewicz (1596-1656), Bishop of Samogitia and Catholic Church leader at the Colloquium, spoke instead of those "quia Catholica dissentiunt unitate". For Jerzy Ossoliński (1595-1650), Royal Chancellor and Royal Legate to the Colloquium until the Castellan of Gniezno, Jan Leszczyński, took over as his deputy, the meeting was "ad procurandam stabilitatem jam Politicam, pacem Ecclesiasticam." He referred to religious differences as "dissidentes opinionibus in Religione Christiana"; a disagreement among equals.²¹⁴

Protestant motivation to contribute to this dialogue was high. In their preparations for the Colloquium, the signatory churches of Sandomierz made a huge effort to overcome their differences through co-operation, not

²¹² Hans-Joachim Müller, "Irenik als Kommunikationsform im Umfeld des Thorner Colloquium Charitativum von 1645" in Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Union – Konversion – Toleranz* (Mainz, 2000), pp.61-82 (pp.69-74).

²¹³ Letter of 10 XI1644 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.247.

²¹⁴ *Orationes habitae Thorunii*, p.Aii.

unification, with other confessions. They included the Orthodox in this; the dissenter pre-meeting at Orla in 1644 produced a joint response to the crown and primate in which they hoped the Colloquium would affirm their religious liberty and peace in the Polish tradition.²¹⁵ Dissenters at the 1645 Sejm were encouraged to co-ordinate secular patrons, especially with Prussia and the Lutherans, so they would stand together at the Colloquium as they had at Orla.²¹⁶

The Reformed were the most open to dialogue at the Colloquium, for which Comenius gathered one delegation of Czech Brethren and Calvinists.²¹⁷ The secular leader for the Reformed at the meeting, Zbigniew Gorajski (1596-1655), Castellan of Chełm recalled that all deliberators at the meeting belonged to an “enorme corpori Christianitatis”, the universal Christian Church.²¹⁸ He hoped that all Christians could settle their differences together rather than returning to universal Catholicism. The Reformed stressed at Toruń that Commonwealth unity was more important than confessional determinism, referring to the Sandomierz Consensus as a confessional milestone; “prout tres illae Confessiones quamuis verbis non nihil discrepantes, tamen ut re ipsa cum Scripturis & inter sese in capitibus fidei necessariis consentientes Sandomiriensi Consensu Anni 1570, in Ecclesiis nostris receptae Unitaeque sunt: etiam confederatione Pacis, & securitatis publicae in hoc Regno firmatae ac munitae.”²¹⁹

Lutherans from Great Poland and Prussia - apart from Gdańsk – were also prepared to negotiate with both Reformed and Catholics. The Lutheran vice-president was elder Stefan Bojanowski, joined by fellow patron Wojciech Bojanowski.²²⁰ The Polish Lutherans, led by Stefan Bojanowski, met with the Czech Brethren, led by elder Jan Schlichting, in the Lutheran church at Leszno before the Colloquium. Comenius and Schlichting published a proposal for union, presenting contentious issues (the Eucharist, person of

²¹⁵ Statement at Orla, 3 IX 1644 in Maciej Lubieński, *Eigendliche Copien und Abschriften...* (n.p. 1644), pp.10ff.

²¹⁶ Leszno synod 6 VI 1645, ABC 1510, pp.8-10.

²¹⁷ Notes to Lubieniecki, *Historia*, p.892.

²¹⁸ *Orationes habitae Thorunii*, p.BI.

²¹⁹ *Acta Conventus Thoruniensis*, p.G, , p.Piiib, p.Pivb, pp.Qiiiff, pp.Yiiff, p.Ddii.

²²⁰ *Confessio fidei status cives et ecclesiae in Polonia, Prussia et Lithuania inv. confessionis Augustanae addictae in Colloquio Charitativi* (n.p. 1645, pub. Gdańsk, 1735), p.48.

Christ and predestination) to overcome.²²¹ The Reformed assured the Lutherans that their confession would remain unchanged, so both could affirm their wish for union.²²²

As at Sandomierz so many years before, dissenters sought approval for their irenicist efforts abroad, seeing their meeting as an opportunity to stimulate greater Christian unity. The Brethren wrote to the local Lutherans and to Wittenberg, offering a compromise version of the 1573 Brethren confession, which had been published in Wittenberg, with the addition that they recognised the Augsburg Confession for the sake of unity. The Wittenberg reply argued that the Czech Brethren were too influenced by Calvinism for co-operation to work. Great Poland's Lutheran szlachta agreed to stand together regardless of Wittenberg.²²³ The Polish Lutherans and Reformed published a joint statement.²²⁴ "Den Streit von Sacramenten, *Communicatione idiomatum, Praedestinatione*, und andern zur Seligkeit ganz unnötigen Sachen wie die eregeten dadurch die kirchen bisher greulich zerrissen, zermutet und verderbet waren ... Sie wollen allen Hass, Streit und Verdacht beiseit gesetzt, sich neben ihnen in guter Einigkeit zum *Colloquio* einstellen und mit gesampter Hand ritterlich streiten."²²⁵

There were some German precedents for the Colloquium; all were called by the secular authorities and none reached successful conclusions. Colloquia were held at Worms and Regensburg in 1540, and several others were held during the Thirty Years' War. At the Silesian Colloquium (1620), Catholics complained that the Lutherans would exploit toleration to their disadvantage, since this was occurring in Poland.²²⁶ At Leipzig in 1631, Lutheran and Calvinist theologians discussed the Augsburg confession and condemned the 'errors' of Catholicism and Socinianism.²²⁷

²²¹ Document in Eugeniusz Borgius, *Aus Posens und Polens kirchlicher Vergangenheit* (Berlin, 1898), pp.113-118; Leszno synod 26 IV 1645, ABC 1511, pp.4ff.

²²² Joint synod at Leszno 1645 in BR MS 46, pp.79-100.

²²³ Leszno synod, 26 IV 1645, ABC 1511, p.16, pp.18-31; Schlichting's letter for the Brethren to Wittenberg, April or May 1645, ABC 1990; Wittenberg to Schlichting, his reply and their response, 22 V, 2 VII and 15 VII 1645 in ABC 1987, pp.40-57.

²²⁴ *Conditiones et Confessiones tam Augustana na quam Bohemica consilari possunt* in ABC 1997, p.28; *Confessio Augustanae in Colloquio*, p.65, p.120, p.124; Prawdecky, *Entdeckung*, pp.19-28.

²²⁵ Hülsemann, *Widerlegung*, pp.11-12 on the Polish perspective.

²²⁶ *Colloquium Eines Vornemen Catholischen Standes in Silesien... in Breslau* (1620), p.Liii.

²²⁷ Matthias Hoë, *Colloquium Lipsiacum anno 1631* (1631).

The Polish Colloquium was new in that it included three confessions. Lutherans were the largest denomination when the churches finally met on 28 August 1645 – 28, mostly pastors, compared to 25 Catholics and 24 Reformed.²²⁸ The meeting was originally planned for 1644, but postponed. Many dissenters, particularly Socinians, were not informed and turned up too early. The Orthodox were also not invited. This did not detract from the symbolic value of the meeting; participants discussed each other's confessions and prayed together there.²²⁹

The fact that representatives of different churches could meet and pray together in this age of confessional conflict was very significant for European observers, raising hopes that irenicism could succeed. Information about the Colloquium was widely distributed; already in 1644, the royal and episcopal invitations, with dissenter responses, were published in London.²³⁰ International theologians attended; Frederick Wilhelm the Elector of Brandenburg sent a Calvinist and a Lutheran. His preacher Johann Bergius (1587-1658) represented the Reformed. The Elector's other candidate was the irenicist Lutheran Georgius Calixtus (1586-1656), who was well received by the Toruń and Elbląg Lutherans, but less so by traditionalist Gdańsk.²³¹ Wittenberg theologian Johann Hülsemann (1602-1661) came to lead the Lutherans when their elder Zygmunt Guldenstern fell ill.

While the Commonwealth clergy and szlachta gathered at Toruń were ready for dialogue, the Wittenberg theologian Johannes Hülsemann made this impossible by highlighting the differences between the churches present. Hülsemann was an outsider at the Colloquium; other participants noted that he was ill informed about the Polish situation. He failed to see that Lutherans needed no separate toleration guarantees, as all dissenters benefited from the Confederation and Consensus. As one commentator noted, Poland was not Germany.²³² Hülsemann cited conflicts between the Augsburg and Heidelberg Catechisms and denied unity unless the Reformed accepted the authority of Wittenberg, causing the debate to break down.²³³ Great Poland's Lutherans

²²⁸ Piszcz, *Colloquium*, p.42, p.108, p.126, p.192.

²²⁹ Piszcz, *Colloquium*, pp.57ff., p.74, pp.101-102, pp.106ff., p.129, p.191, p.194.

²³⁰ *Universalium Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Poloniae et Sveciae &c, ad dissidentes* (London, 1644).

²³¹ Müller, *Die zweite Reformation*, pp.84ff., p.156.

²³² Prawdecky, *Entdeckung*, preface, pp.82ff, p.152.

²³³ *Acta Conventus Thoruniensis Celebrati 1645* (Warszawa, 1646), p.Hiiib; Johannes Hülsemann, *Widerlegung der Calvinischen Relation vom Colloquio zu Thorn* (Leipzig, 1646), pp.4-5, pp.112-113;

were prepared to sign the records of the Colloquium, which was contentious, as non-Catholics felt misrepresented in this official account.²³⁴ Yet due to the tensions caused by Hülsemann, the Lutherans did not sign.²³⁵ The Czech Brethren elder Jan Schlichting hoped for an understanding with the Gdańsk Lutherans, but Hülsemann shot this down, stating that Lutherans were governed by an authority outside Poland – the theologians of Wittenberg.²³⁶ Hülsemann's intervention made it impossible for the Lutherans to reach an understanding with either Catholics or Reformed, destroying the good will which had motivated so many to join the dialogue.

The Colloquium Charitativum showed that the Brześć Union of Catholics and Orthodox of 1596 could not be repeated with Protestantism. By 1645 all parties were aware that such a church union would not work. Though no formal conclusions were reached, the meeting did strengthen ties between all confessions involved as they prepared for dialogue. Most representatives were Protestant, and dissenters used the meeting to increase co-operation, and their status in relation to Catholicism. Commonwealth Catholics and Protestants had rejected the idea of a national church both in 1570 by establishing a loose confederation of dissenter churches, and in 1573 in favour of allowing all szlachta to choose their own confession. Affirming this choice of seventy years before, the leaders of Poland-Lithuania, monarch, clergy and szlachta, settled for plural confessions within a plural state in 1645. The Colloquium proved that toleration rather than confessional unity was the only way to govern the Commonwealth.

1.4: Conclusions

Toleration remained a governing principle of the *Rzeczpospolita* throughout the reigns of the first two Wazas. There was of course a pragmatic element; despite opposition from Catholic Reformers, clergy and nobility, even the Roman hierarchy came to appreciate the need for religious peace, or tolerance. Yet Catholic and Protestant szlachta advocated confessional freedom, as

Constantio Prawdecky, *Entdeckung der unwahrheiten... welcher D J Hülsemann in seiner widerlegung ausspregnet* (Leszno, 1647), pp.15ff., p.109.

²³⁴ Edmund Piszcz, *Colloquium charitativum w Toruniu 1645* (Toruń, 1995), p.17, pp.91ff, p.190; Prawdecky, *Entdeckung*, pp.74ff.

²³⁵ *Acta Conventus Thoruniensis*, p.Gg.

²³⁶ Hülsemann, *Widerlegung*, pp.29-31, pp.112-113.

individuals and collectively, as executionalists, constitutionalists, patrons and Sejm activists. As Środa's sejmik instructions show, Great Poland helped to 'process' the Confederation by further defining it in law, as a matter of justice and szlachta equality as well as of peace.

The 1632 Confederation was refined to reflect the changes which occurred under Zygmunt III's rule; Socinians were excluded but other churches strengthened by the agreement. It specifically mentioned the Catholic Church, stated the right of the non-Uniate Orthodox and Protestant churches to worship, the right to prosecute clergy for causing confessional conflict, and to condemn unjust Tribunal rulings. The 1648 version was almost identical, indicating that under Władysław, szlachta opinion on toleration had not changed; Chmielnicki's Cossack rising of that year, marking lines of difference with the Orthodox east, began to affect attitudes towards the Confederation. The Deluge seems to be the real hiatus; during the Swedish invasion and civil war of the late 1650s, the Socinians were banished by Sejm decree and key supporters of toleration, the Protestant Jan Comenius and Catholic Łukasz Opaliński, began to question whether szlachta liberty really was a sound basis for liberty of conscience.

The Sejm reached a clear definition of freedom from violence, through the constitutions on tumults from 1593 to 1631, and the 1627 constitution on fair rulings by the Crown Tribunal, which ruled on tumults. These were necessary in a climate of religious disturbances in key royal cities. The unrest was over in Great Poland by 1618, when the last dissenter church closed in the regional capital of Poznań. Only Lithuanian dissenters kept a church in their capital – Wilno – for longer. Dissenters did not leave the capital cities of any province, even when their church buildings were destroyed. In Great Poland, even in other royal towns, szlachta patronage and sympathetic town authorities prevented tumults from causing the damage suffered in Poznań.

Freedom of worship was furthered by the 1635 *compositio*, as chapter five will show; this addressed contentious issues of szlachta rights and church property, crucial for dissenters who relied on noble patrons. The Colloquium showed that by 1645 Catholics and non-Catholics were able to worship in their own churches and even pray together. Dissenters had their own church

structures and were not prepared to return to the fold of the Roman Church, any more than all the Orthodox were ready to become Uniates. Chapter three will show how relations between the churches changed in the context of confessionalisation. Freedom to hold office remained unchanged, and dissenters in the Sejm and sejmiki used this to defend their rights effectively, with the support of tolerant Catholics. The next chapter will show how far political principle was upheld in political practice.

2. Great Poland in the Commonwealth

Great Poland's szlachta were generously tolerant on paper; "From those who differ in religion we see that where sufferings occur on this matter, they are not eased, so we declare that we will in the future continue to follow the road which our ancestors chose and which we have followed until now, not leaving it and preserving the peace which is concluded among us by the confederation, sincerely and consistently, and if anything should disturb it, we will hinder and prevent this, as well as punish those who would wish to disturb it."¹ Confessional harmony was a fine aim, but it would only work if these szlachta who wanted it were actually governing. This chapter examines the politics that made toleration possible in Great Poland, taking the debate from paper to practice. How far the rhetoric of the *Pacta Conventa* was lived out, how the szlachta contributed to government in Great Poland as the westernmost province of a vast Commonwealth, is important. Dissenters were part of the ruling estate; their role within a functioning nobility in Great Poland is explained here.

We have seen how the principles of toleration were enshrined and established in law – the political class had the power to enforce these. The crown and szlachta had made a commitment in the Sejm, through the Warsaw Confederation and constitutions in the years following it. However such Commonwealth decisions had to be applied in the regions, by a nobility not always happy to co-operate with the centre. How much power the monarch had in relation to the szlachta and how senators and non-senators interacted within the noble estate, were important for confessional relations.

One of Great Poland's leading political writers, the Crown Marshal of the Court, Łukasz Opaliński (1612-1662), had some senatorial advice for the szlachta in the lower house of the Sejm. "Ensure that you use your liberty to increase the good of the *Rzeczpospolita*, and defence of the laws, not for their destruction and elimination. And with your heartfelt efforts, it will be the *laetissima reipublicae forma, cui ad summam libertatem nihil deerit, nisi*

¹ Sejmik 9 II 1606, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.276.

pereundi licentia.”² In his view, this best form of government in the *Rzeczpospolita* was a ‘mixed’ government, where an elective monarch ruled with the szlachta.

The monarch and increasing numbers of senators were Catholic from 1587-1648, while many szlachta in the Chamber of Deputies were not. The balance of power between these three pillars of mixed government determined how much political weight non-Catholics really carried, and whether this influence was reduced under the first two Wazas. This chapter argues that the szlachta, senators and non-senators, were active citizens, using the decision-making fora of the sejmiki and the Sejm to strengthen their state and improve how it was governed, working together with their monarch. Dissenters were among the most active of all, for example as frequently re-elected envoys to the Sejm. This analysis the dissenter role in informal noble networks as well as formal office-holding will show how far the letter of toleration came alive.

The political structures of the *Rzeczpospolita* were the channels through which toleration was realised; it was through them that leaders of all confessions met each other, both in central government and in the province of Great Poland. Focussing on Poznań and Kalisz, but including the other palatinates wherever possible, these structures are explained in four stages, to see how confessional as well as political decentralisation became a reality. Firstly, the role of the monarch is explored; how the szlachta acted without the king in interregna, where the Warsaw Confederation was renewed, and in relation to him, in their different attitudes to royal policy. Secondly, the internal tensions within the noble estate are examined to determine whether a mostly Catholic Senate could work with a confessionally diverse Chamber of Deputies. Thirdly, the political effects of devolution on the szlachta in Great Poland are analysed. This will lead us to see how far confession was a factor in szlachta rule – did Catholics choose non-Catholics, did dissenters choose papists as allies, patrons and clients, as representatives and officials; could they work together to govern up to 1648?

² Łukasz Opaliński, *Rozmowa plebana ze ziemianinem* (1641), in idem., *Wybór pism*, pp.122-123.

2.1: Crown and Szlachta – Government by Partners

The relationship between the first two Waza kings and their szlachta is traditionally described as one of increasing conflict and tension, but co-operation with the crown was the norm. Łukasz Opaliński stressed that the Polish monarchy was superior to that of France and Spain, which had too much power, and compared the Commonwealth ruler to the English, German, Swedish, Hungarian and Bohemian monarchs. All these, according to Opaliński, were governed by a fair balance of power between crown and parliament. The Commonwealth szlachta loved their king because he did not oppress them, as they freely elected him themselves.³ We will see whether the relationship was really so harmonious; this determined how happy the denominationally mixed szlachta of Great Poland could be with a Catholic ruler.

The monarch is best understood as a partner rather than opponent of the szlachta. The 'crown in parliament,' not the king alone, was recognised as a separate estate.⁴ The principle of unanimity in the Sejm meant that the monarch and nobles needed to work together, and a spirit of flexibility and compromise continued up until the Deluge in the 1650s.⁵ The szlachta gradually placed notable restrictions on royal freedom of action; from 1578 the Sejm held the power to ennoble.⁶ Matters of taxation, war and peace could not be settled without the Sejm. From 1641 the monarch was officially not allowed to go abroad unless the Sejm consented.⁷ Yet royal power was still extensive. The king initiated legislation and though it is unclear whether he could block parliamentary decisions in this period, he could certainly put a great deal of pressure on the Sejm.⁸ He was seen as arbitrator between the other estates.⁹ As commander of the army and head of the government, he had enormous powers of patronage, appointing officials and distributing the

³ Opaliński, *Polonia defensa*, pp.101-103; Address as speaker to the 1638 Sejm in BK MS 1195, p.78.

⁴ Kazimierz Grzybowski, "The three parliamentary estates" in Władysław Czapliński (ed.), *The Polish Parliament at the Summit of its development* (Wrocław, 1988), pp.84-110 (p.87).

⁵ Edward Opaliński, "Między liberum veto a głosowaniem większościovym – funkcjonowanie sejmu w latach 1587-1648" in Teresa Chynczewska (ed.), *Między wschodem i zachodem – Rzeczpospolita Polska XVII-XVIII w.* (Warszawa, 1993), pp.43-52.

⁶ Juliusz Bardach (ed.), *Dzieje sejmu polskiego* (Warszawa, 1993), p.58.

⁷ Bardach (ed.), *Historia państwa*, p.221.

⁸ Władysław Czapliński, "Sejm w latach 1587-96" in Jerzy Michałski (ed.), *Dzieje sejmu polskiego do schyłku szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 1984), pp.217-299 (pp.287-288).

⁹ Czapliński, "Z problematyki", p.37.

royal lands on which many szlachta relied.¹⁰ The king was most influential in grey areas where his role was not yet defined; in practice he could change Sejm constitutions by altering the text when they went to print after parliament had closed.¹¹

Royal influence was dependent on the wealth the monarch could command. Most income came from estates and taxation. From the origins of the 'execution of the laws' movement to defend and extend their liberties, the szlachta wanted to restore alienated crown lands. Taxation on these was to provide a stable royal income to fund military security. Holders of *starostwa* (royal estates) blocked this, since they would lose income. Henri Valois cemented a compromise of the 1560s, whereby a *starosta* (administrator of royal estates) passed on 20% of income from his royal estate to the crown. A quarter of this – the *kwarta* tax – was used to fund defence through the *kwarta* army. From 1574, non-judicial starostas kept 30%, and judicial starostas kept 40% of profits from their estates; the rest went to the crown, after the *kwarta* was deducted. This system was difficult to execute however, as it was hard to survey royal estates or make starostas pay, and the *kwarta* remained at the 1560s rate though income from royal estates increased over the next generations.¹² Other income came from mints, the *łanowe* and increasingly important *pobór* taxes on the peasants, the *szos* on towns and the *czopowe* on drink. More than half of szlachta income came from agriculture (56.3% in Great Poland in 1600), and the szlachta passed on the greatest tax burden to their peasants, since the *łanowe* and *pobór* were the main means of fundraising for defence granted by the Sejm. Peasant obligations also included rents and labour services of about one day a week.¹³ For example in the Kalisz Palatinate, 70% of the land registered for taxation was in peasant and town hands, while the szlachta owned 75% of the land. *Zagrodowa* (smallholder, not estate owner) szlachta paid half the *pobór* on the fields they farmed themselves. They occupied from 11.3% of szlachta villages in Kalisz to 24% in Brześć.¹⁴

¹⁰ Bardach, *Historia państwa*, pp.219ff.; Andrzej Kamiński, "The szlachta of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth and their government" in Ivo Banac (ed.), *The Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe* (New Haven, 1983), pp.17-45 (p.19).

¹¹ See Pryshlak, *The Wellordered State*, pp.50-53.

¹² Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Spory królów ze szlachtą w złotym wieku* (Kraków, 1988), pp.11-14, pp.57-61; Frost, *After the Deluge*, pp.19-20.

¹³ Jerzy Topolski, *Przełom gospodarczy w Polsce XVI wieku i jego następstwa* (Poznań, 2000), p.12, p.37.

¹⁴ Leon Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna w województwie kaliskim w XVI wieku* (Poznań, 1976), pp.50-51.

By the end of his reign, Zygmunt III managed to bring the Lithuanian treasury into credit and also reduced the deficit in the Crown treasury.¹⁵ Though he failed to compromise with the szlachta on establishing a permanent treasury, the first Waza's commission of 1591, developing into a treasury tribunal, helped ensure that taxes were collected.¹⁶ Little of this went to the crown however; early in Zygmunt III's reign, some *starostwa* were set aside for financing the "royal table", known as the royal *economia*, together with some income from tolls and the mints. In 1629, a new tax was introduced, the *podymne* on the peasants and *zagrodowa* szlachta. This brought in 400 000 złoty by 1631, more than the *pobór* had. Overall the tax burden rose by around 60% in the first half of the seventeenth century, from 600 000 to 2.8 million złoty entering the treasury. This money was for state needs, largely military.¹⁷

Royal authority relied on noble administration of justice, from the local level to the highest court in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Here the potential for clashes between a confessionally mixed szlachta and Catholic clergy was high, as chapter five will show. The highest court in the Commonwealth until 1578 was the *sąd sejmowy* (Sejm court), convened under royal jurisdiction at the Sejm, dealing mainly with treason, szlachta crimes worthy of banishment and treasury related cases.¹⁸ Other central courts were the marshal's (*sąd marszałkowski*, meaning the Sejm in session) which covered the royal residence, the assessor's court (*sąd asesorski*) which took appeal cases from cities, and the *sąd referendarski* for peasants on royal lands.

The Crown Tribunal (*Trybunał Koronny*) was established in 1578, replacing the monarch – though not the Sejm – as the highest legal authority in the land. A Lithuanian Tribunal followed in 1581, while Royal Prussia came under the Crown Tribunal's jurisdiction in 1585. It was the highest court of appeal for the szlachta. The Crown Tribunal included 6 Roman clergy and 26 secular szlachta deputies elected annually at special sejmiki; clerical influence on the tribunal was a matter of contention for Catholic and non-Catholic szlachta, as

¹⁵ Seredyka, *Rzeczpospolita*, p.211, p.215.

¹⁶ Anna Filipczak-Kocur, *Skarb koronny za Zygmunta III Wazy* (Opole, 1985), pp.152-154.

¹⁷ Jerzy Topolski (ed.), *Polska w czasach nowożytnych 1501-1795* (Poznań, 1994) pp.188-189, p.434.

¹⁸ See Zbigniew Szcząska, "Sąd sejmowy w Polsce XVI-XVIII w." in *Czasopismo prawohistoryczne* 20 nr. 1 (1968), pp.93-124.

the previous chapter has shown. The szlachta favoured the Crown Tribunal over all other courts, even that of the Sejm, as they had the most control over it.¹⁹ Nobles travelled to Piotrków to follow the progress of their cases, or sent clients to report. Patrons such as Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, made a huge effort to ensure that their men were nominated as deputies to the tribunal and to block rival candidates.²⁰

Provincial jurisdiction was conducted by the szlachta; Great Poland's administrative structures fitted the Commonwealth standard. On a regional level the office of palatine (*wojewoda*), or governor of a palatinate (*województwo*), was the most prestigious. The castellans, of which there were thirteen in Poznań and Kalisz, followed; the major ones of Poznań, Kalisz and Gniezno, and ten minor, Biechowo, Kamień, Krzywiń, Łędek, Międzyrzecz, Nakło, Przemęt, Rogoźno, Santok and Śrem. These too were senators, though they had no significant regional jurisdiction. *Starostwa* leased to szlachta were a lucrative as well as prestigious. Though theoretically not hereditary, these could occasionally pass from father to son: the small *starostwo* of Śrem remained in Opaliński hands for 150 years.²¹ The general starosta, for the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, was highest regional official, a most influential patron. The *starostas* for the Wschowa and Nakło territories came next, lying outside the general starosta's jurisdiction.²²

Local courts under noble jurisdiction, were the *gród*, *ziemskie* (territorial) and *podkomorskie* courts (under the *podkomorzy* or chamberlain, at palatinate level), for increasingly large areas of administration. The first point of contact was usually the most local, *gród* court; one for each *starostwo*, with the judge (*sędzia grodowe* or local *gród* official) chosen by the *starosta* for a fixed term. In Great Poland, the major two were the Poznań and Kalisz courts, under the general starosta. These courts administered criminal law and handled all sorts of cases relevant to the szlachta, including conflicts with the clergy. The territorial courts declined in the seventeenth century in contrast to the *gród*; they dealt with szlachta landholding disputes. The office of *sędzia ziemskie*,

¹⁹ Stefania Ochmann, "Uwagi o politycznej roli Trybunału Koronnego" in Chynczewska (ed.), *Między wschodem*, pp.103-110 (p.105).

²⁰ His letter of 28 VIII 1644 on elections at the Środa sejmik; Opaliński, *Listy*, p.31.

²¹ Stanisław Płaza, *Sejmiki i zjazdy szlacheckie województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego 1572-1632* (Warszawa, 1984), pp.79-80.

²² Adam Bieniaszewski (ed.), *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI-XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1987) pp.6ff.

territorial *gród* court official, was granted for life.²³ The *podkomorskie* took cases that were unresolved lower down. There were also courts for cities, particular szlachta lands, villages or castles.²⁴ Church lands came under canon law.²⁵ Local administrators, between bishops and deacons, were called the *oficjalaty* (provincial deacons, under a general in the diocesan capital). These had legal jurisdiction over their territory, though they were not present in all dioceses.²⁶ The Senate was also a court of appeal in spiritual cases; szlachta used it to protest about the Catholic Church taking over their land or to argue for clerical taxation.²⁷

So crown and szlachta worked together in lawmaking, raising revenue and in administering justice. They knew that they needed each other to govern effectively. There was always however a gap between monarchs, when the szlachta got used to running the Commonwealth themselves and set the political and confessional agenda for the new ruler. Different szlachta had different attitudes to royal policy, depending on who they thought the driving force of government should be – the king, senators or non-senators. These different political choices became starker in interregna.

2.1.1: Interregna

Between the reigns of elected monarchs, the szlachta enjoyed a unique chance to act without their ruler, which dissenters were particularly quick to take, as their attempts to secure the Warsaw Confederation indicate. Yet the szlachta in Great Poland, as elsewhere, were glad to see royal rule return, viewing interregna as a limited and potentially unstable interim. After each monarch's death, the estates took over the reins of government alone, including royal duties such as diplomatic relations. Exceptional gatherings of szlachta were called (confederations) and special (*kapturowe*) sejmiki and courts functioned, on the basis of the majority principle.²⁸ Szlachta took control of the country's finances, demanding a review of the treasury by representatives from each

²³ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, p.19.

²⁴ Bardach, *Historia państwa*, pp.244ff.; Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, "Skład społeczny wielkopolskiej reprezentacji sejmowej w latach 1572-1655" in *Roczniki historyczne* 23 (1957), pp.281-310 (p.285).

²⁵ Bardach, *Historia państwa*, p.290.

²⁶ Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce*, p.89.

²⁷ Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna*, p.167.

²⁸ See Bardach (ed.), *Historia państwa*.

needed; the sejmik was also sympathetic to soldiers' pay grievances.¹⁵⁵ Having celebrated peace with the Turks in 1640, the sejmik was reluctant to pay for further conflict just two years later, and repeated calls for peace throughout the 1640s.¹⁵⁶ This growing antagonism to the Ottoman conflict tied with anti-Habsburg feeling in the Thirty Years' War. The 1646 Sejm, led by Great Poland, successfully opposed Władysław's offensive against the Ottomans, reiterating that he could not make war or peace without its consent. The issue was political, not just financial; Władysław had not even requested taxation.¹⁵⁷ Great Poland wanted all Commonwealth borders secure, not just her own, but was prepared to fund war when peace was not a viable alternative.

The szlachta paid military taxation, granting a *pobór* at ten of 12 Sejms under Władysław.¹⁵⁸ The amount of tax increased vastly, more than tenfold under the first two Wazas. The Sieradz sejmik raised 13 105 złoty in 1588, rising to 161 123 złoty in 1648.¹⁵⁹ The Cujavia palatinates of Brześć and Inowrocław faced similar increases. These palatinates contributed an average of 15 200 złoty to the treasury under Stefan Batory, almost doubling to 29 000 złoty in peacetime under Władysław IV. Figures for Zygmunt III are not so clear, but in the war years of 1620 and 1649 the Cujavian palatinates contributed far more to the treasury; 76 100 and 144 688 złoty respectively.¹⁶⁰ Such huge numerical rises make szlachta protests against further tax and war understandable.

The szlachta worked hard to improve the tax system, to control the misappropriation and abuse of revenues, whether by local collectors or when they felt the central administration was misdirecting the revenue, as the above discussion of sejmik activity shows. So Great Poland was a critical, politically aware contributor to Commonwealth government, conscious of its responsibilities. Arguments for a faltering administration before the 1650s have been exaggerated, in this region at least.

¹⁵⁵ They paid taxation in 1597, 1609, 1612, 1619, 1621 and 1624; BR MS 231, pp.96ff., p.115, pp.124-125, p.148. See sejmiaki of 23 VIII 1611, 2 I and 29 I 1613, 1614, 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.199, pp.398-399, pp.412-418, pp.435-436, p.485.

¹⁵⁶ BR MS 231, p.374, pp.401ff., p.471.

¹⁵⁷ Dziegielewski, *Izba poselska*, p.32, p.39; Karol Szajnocha, *Dwa lata dziejów naszych 1646. 1648* (Lwów, 1904), p.319.

¹⁵⁸ Dziegielewski, *Izba poselska*, p.35.

¹⁵⁹ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, pp.137-138.

¹⁶⁰ Pawiński, *Rządy sejmikowe*, pp.326-7, p.307.

Of course local interests were important to the Środa sejmik, but these held lower priority than the national interest. Individual petitions to the Sejm were added at the end of some sejmik instructions, for the resolution of szlachta legal disputes, grievances of particular religious orders or towns. These were clearly secondary to the main articles; it was rare for an individual case to be treated as an article, not a petition, as when the sejmik instructed that Marcin Broniewski should be rewarded for his service to the *Rzeczpospolita*.¹⁶¹ Local matters came after affairs of state in the instructions. Most importantly, the regional szlachta took their contribution to central government seriously, and wanted control over this. The Środa sejmik wanted some of their tax for local soldiers, even determining where they should serve: "Our soldiers should not be sent anywhere else, but only to fight against the pagans."¹⁶²

The szlachta of Poznań and Kalisz were most concerned that no palatinate would dominate over the others. A recurring concern at Środa was that other palatinates were paying less tax than Poznań and Kalisz.¹⁶³ Thus the szlachta at Środa made their taxation conditional on other palatinates contributions. "We permit one *pobór*... and a further two, and even three *ad summam* of *pobór*, as long as all the other palatinates agree and accept this equally with us, because according to the law *onera debent esse communia*."¹⁶⁴

So the sejmik assumed a shared sense of responsibility for Commonwealth matters. Poznań and Kalisz wanted to pay their share, agreeing to a six fold *pobór* "understanding that other palatinates in the Kingdom have agreed to six *pobory* in order to pay debts owed to the soldiers".¹⁶⁵ The palatinates represented at Środa knew that they needed the centre for regional needs, as when they were impeded in navigating the Warta to Szczecin by the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania. Their deputies were instructed to ask the king to write to these princes and restore their existing navigation rights.¹⁶⁶ The szlachta at Środa saw that regions needed to come together for

¹⁶¹ Sejmik of 2 I 1618, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.48.

¹⁶² 17 I 1614, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.438; 11 IV 1619, quote from 7 I 1621, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1616-1632*, p.80, p.96.

¹⁶³ 11 IV 1619, 27 VII 1621, 31 VIII 1627 Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1616-1632*, p.79, p.99, p.247.

¹⁶⁴ 29 I 1613, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.416.

¹⁶⁵ 17 I 1614, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.435.

¹⁶⁶ 19 II 1632, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1616-1632*, p.331.

decisions of state; “As regards the *kwarta*, as in HRH’s petition, the deputies should agree on this with the other palatinates.”¹⁶⁷

Great Poland was bound to other regions through both the Sejm and sejmiki. Though Great Poland’s envoys lodged together in Warsaw, they took advantage of the proximity of szlachta from other provinces. Marcin Broniewski told Krzysztof Radziwiłł of the opportunity the Sejm gave him to network and pass on letters for his patron. He noted that szlachta from Great Poland were staying together during the 1623 Sejm, but their house was near enough for him to walk to Krzysztof’s palace.¹⁶⁸ The Mazovian sejmiki exchanged information with other sejmiki, sending each other their instructions to keep them up to date.¹⁶⁹ Interaction between regions is reflected in local decision-making. One third of candidates recommended by the Środa sejmik to receive lands from Zygmunt III were from outside Great Poland.¹⁷⁰ The regional szlachta obviously felt that nobles across the Commonwealth were part of one ruling estate, who also had the right to take on leadership in Great Poland.

Szlachta based in other regions represented Great Poland in the Sejm. Owners of land in another province were also eligible for public office there; in Great Poland the Czarnkowski, Górka, and Opaliński families took advantage of this, while families like the Leszczyńskis and Ostrorógs headed coalitions of Commonwealth significance.¹⁷¹ Though Jan Ostroróg became Palatine of Poznań, most of his land was elsewhere. He resided mainly in Lithuania, growing oranges and keeping swans on his Komarno estate and was also *starosta* of Malbork in Royal Prussia.¹⁷² Sejm envoys with more modest estates elsewhere include Andrzej Siewierski, *starosta* of Oświęcim, who represented the Sieradz sejmik in 1613, and Sebastian Wołucki, *starosta* of Rawa, deputy for Sieradz in 1624 and 1625.¹⁷³

Envoys from Great Poland representing other parts of the Commonwealth included Jan Gostomski, future Palatine of Kalisz, who was envoy for Rawa in

¹⁶⁷ 3 XII 1590, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.147.

¹⁶⁸ Marcin Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 26 I 1623 in ARV 1419, pp.348-358.

¹⁶⁹ Choińska-Mika, *Sejmiki mazowieckie*, p.92.

¹⁷⁰ Opaliński, “Polityka rozdawnicza”, p.26.

¹⁷¹ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, pp.136-150.

¹⁷² See his PSB entry.

¹⁷³ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.153, p.154.

Mazovia.¹⁷⁴ Kasper Denhoff, later Palatine of Sieradz, represented the Riga sejmik in 1615.¹⁷⁵ Andrzej Leszczyński, future Palatine of Brześć, was envoy for Sandomierz at the 1587 Convocation Sejm, and his son Rafał served for Sandomierz in 1605 and 1611. Mikołaj Ostroróg, son of the Palatine of Poznań, held land in Ruthenia and was its envoy for all Władysław IV's Sejms, refusing to move up to the Senate.¹⁷⁶

Great Poland's sejmiki show that decentralisation was not debilitating, but more a creative subsidiarity to cope with regional differences and distance. Power was devolved along improved, recognised channels, in direct communication with the centre. Sejmik responsibilities served both crown and szlachta as governing partners. The szlachta gained from the centre via their instructions, from individual and collective privileges to the defence of the realm. The sejmiki paid taxation, provided policy directions and deputies to the centre, annually elected and managed Tribunal deputies and tax collectors to ensure a functioning legal and financial administration. Sejmiki tackled Commonwealth issues, from royal finances to defence at the most distant borders. The szlachta did not see the need for major reforms, but improved taxation and Sejm procedure. Though conflicts arose, as the rare divisions of Środa reflect, relations were soon re-established; the Środa sejmik divided just four times, reflecting Commonwealth tensions, between the royal election of 1587 and the *rokosz* in 1606.¹⁷⁷ Great Poland was tied to other regions through shared political responsibilities. Under Zygmunt and Władysław, the Commonwealth was working, not unravelling. Confessional plurality played its part in binding Poland-Lithuania together.

2.4: Catholics and Protestants - Confessional and Political Decentralisation

The satirical "Hobbist's Creed" by seventeenth century polemicist Thomas Tenison shows a cynical contemporary perspective on the ever-closer alliance between polity and religion. "I believe that God is Almighty matter, that in him there are three Persons, he having been thrice represented on earth; that it is

¹⁷⁴ See list of envoys from Rawa in Choińska-Mika, *Sejmiki mazowieckie*, p.182.

¹⁷⁵ Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, p.217.

¹⁷⁶ Dzięgielewski, *Izba poselska*, p.175.

¹⁷⁷ Płaza, *Sejmiki i zjazdy*, pp.98-99; in Little Poland, Proszowice (Kraków's sejmik) also divided over the 1587 election - thereafter such sejmik divisions only recurred in the eighteenth century; Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki*, pp.198ff., pp.206ff.

to be decided by the Civil Power whether he created all things else.”¹⁷⁸ This section seeks to determine whether such an alliance could succeed in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Decentralised government meant that confessional relations could flourish outside the control of a Catholicising centre. Who the szlachta of Great Poland included in their alliances and networks, and who they appointed to office, will show whether they were tolerant enough to take up this chance.

2.4.1: Confession in Noble Networks

The most powerful families in Great Poland at the turn of the seventeenth century were the Górka, Leszczyński, Opaliński and Ostroróg, who all owned significant estates in other provinces. The Czarnkowski, Grudziński, Latałski and Przyjemski families were of great regional importance but not quite as wealthy.¹⁷⁹ Great Poland’s szlachta did not restrict their loyalties to their region. Family and marriage, landholding, political and confessional alliances drew the greatest patrons and thus their clients into a web of loyalties outside their home regions. Whether adherents of other confessions were trusted enough to be included in their networks will tell us how far the szlachta really practiced toleration.

Noble networks were based on personal allegiance, but such loyalties were not fixed; birth into or alliance with the right family was no guarantee for promotion and so the szlachta readily adapted to use other channels. Szlachta clients expected that their patrons help their families too; Filip Wołucki gained the confidence from his appointment as Castellan of Rawa to ask Zygmunt to promote his brother as Under Chamberlain of Rawa.¹⁸⁰ Yet client loyalties were not exclusive, any more than office holders consistently backed their monarch. Some served rival ‘clans’; the Orzelskis served both the Czarnkowski and Opaliński families.¹⁸¹ For Jan Schlichting, *sędzia ziemski* of Wschowa, opposition politics overrode rivalries within Great Poland.

¹⁷⁸ See Alan Ryan, “A more tolerant Hobbes?” in Susan Mendus (ed.), *Justifying Toleration* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.37-60 (p.59).

¹⁷⁹ Dworzaczek, “Skład społeczny”, pp.287-293.

¹⁸⁰ Letter from Wołucki to Zygmunt III, 1630 in BK MS 1195, p.20.

¹⁸¹ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, pp.93ff.

Schlichting transferred his loyalty from one regional opposition leader to another, serving Krzysztof Opaliński after his rival Rafał Leszczyński died.¹⁸²

Family itself was shaped by tactical alliances. High rates of remarriage among the nobility complicated family relationships; due to the death of spouses, the average marriage lasted 10 years in this period.¹⁸³ The positioning of women in marriage, recasting family alliances through political decisions, was as important as the positioning of men in office, as clients or patrons. Krzysztof Opaliński clearly enjoyed royal favour at court because the Queen got on so well with his wife.¹⁸⁴ Brothers Jan and Mikołaj Ostroróg sought to gain status when their sister Katarzyna married Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Palatine of Wilno. Both stressed this relationship, using the title of brother-in-law in correspondence with Krzysztof. Janikowski, a Calvinist minister, asked Mikołaj to appeal to Krzysztof for the renewal of his pension via Katarzyna.¹⁸⁵

Synods condemned confessionally mixed marriages so frequently that they must have been widespread. The Socinians censured such unions in 1600 and 1605, the Catholics in 1643 and the Lutherans and Czech Brethren from 1632.¹⁸⁶ The Brethren were also concerned that their congregations were happy to attend Lutheran communion (for which they required ministerial permission according to the Sandomierz Consensus), and that a Lutheran grandmother had taken a Brethren child to be baptised, while the father saw no need for re-baptism.¹⁸⁷ Confessional difference within families was normal; the Orzelskis were Lutheran and Catholic, the Schlichtings were both Czech and Polish Brethren and Rozdrażewskis were both Catholic and Czech Brethren.

These inter-confessional marriages were common at the highest level in Great Poland, making the elite denominationally diverse. Rafał Leszczyński's uncle Wacław, though educated Calvinist, converted to Catholicism, but married

¹⁸² See Schlichting's PSB entry and Sajkowski, *Krzysztof Opaliński*, p.214; Krzysztof's letters 31 XII 1643; 14 IX 1643; 10 VIII 1653 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.187, p.174, p.501.

¹⁸³ Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Poznania*, p.442.

¹⁸⁴ Letters of 8 and 21 III 1646 in Opaliński, *Listy* p.319, p.325.

¹⁸⁵ Mikołaj Ostroróg to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 20 X 1606 in ARV 11094 nr. 4; Letters from Jan Ostroróg, Castellan of Poznań to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 1590-1604 ARV 11091.

¹⁸⁶ Szczotka, "Synody arian", pp.50-51, p.57; Gniezno archdiocesan synod at Uniejów on 7 VII 1643 in Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae V*, p.240; Rafał Leszczyński to the Leszno Lutherans, 4 XI 1633 in ABC 2530, p.65; Leszno synod 28 VI 1632, ABC 1486, p.8; Ostroróg synod 2 V 1634, ABC 1493, p.71; Leszno synod 14 X 1638, ABC 1502 p.23; Skoki synod 8 III 1640, ABC 1504 p.27; Leszno synod 29 IV 1643, ABC 1505, p.18.

¹⁸⁷ Ostroróg synod 2 V 1634, ABC 1493, p.70-71, p.75.

Calvinist Anna Rozdrażewska. Rafał's other uncle and fellow Czech Brother Jan married the Catholic daughter of Andrzej Opaliński. Of the greatest four regional families, two were mixed Catholic and Czech Brethren - the Leszczyńskis and Ostrorógs - while the Opalińskis were Catholic and the Górkas Lutheran. Half of the second rank of regional families were also multi-confessional; the Grudzińskis contained Reformed, Lutherans and Catholics, the Przyjemskis were Catholic and Czech Brethren, while the Czarnkowskis were Catholic and the Latalskis Reformed. All these top families intermarried with each other.¹⁸⁸

The Catholic hierarchy was an important source of patronage, bolstered by links to the royal court. One Cardinal Cintius and the Pope recommended Jan Ostroróg for promotion.¹⁸⁹ 70% of the 72 bishops under Zygmunt and Władysław began their careers as royal secretaries; only six rose through the church administration, though three were members of the royal family.¹⁹⁰ Family connections helped some clerical careers; Wawrzyniec Gembicki, Archbishop of Gniezno from 1622, had three nephews who were bishops. Regional Catholic hierarchs were so influential that even the crown sought their help. Zygmunt III asked Andrzej Opaliński, former secretary to Pope Clement VIII, to help him get papal approval for his Habsburg marriage.¹⁹¹ Andrzej Opaliński also used family contacts to promote secular relatives. He sought the help of his brother-in-law Jan Firlej (d.1614), a convert Catholic and Under Treasurer for the Polish Kingdom, in getting the Bishopric of Poznań. Once appointed, he appealed to Firlej again to help his younger brother Łukasz in a quarrel with the *rokosz* activist Stanisław Stadnicki (1551-1610), and Firlej did so, writing to Łukasz.¹⁹² Andrzej was then in a position to sell over a dozen villages in Wschowa, with their benefices, to his brother Łukasz, who later became Grand Marshal.¹⁹³

There was an alternative to the influential networks of the Catholic Church. Patrons were vital to support all faith communities, but particularly dissenter

¹⁸⁸ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, p.51.

¹⁸⁹ Cintius, 10 VII 1603 and Pope Clement VIII, 19 VII 1603 recommending Ostroróg to the crown in BK MS 1403, p.133, p.137.

¹⁹⁰ Dziegielelewski, "Biskupi", pp.196-199.

¹⁹¹ Letters from the royal deputy chancellor to Andrzej Opaliński, then crown secretary 18 VI to 28 VIII 1605 in BK MS 306, pp.75-78.

¹⁹² Letter from Opaliński to Firlej of 4 XI 1607 in BK MS 306; second letter from Opaliński to Firlej of 1607, third letter from Firlej to Łukasz Opaliński in BK MS 306, p.152b, p.156, pp.171b-172b.

¹⁹³ Land agreement in Wschowa Gr. 37 (1606-9), p.283.

ones, whose clergy were not szlachta. Patrons were expected to sort out conflicts and defend liberty of conscience for their churches. As the Commonwealth Synod of Włodawa in 1634 commanded; “We therefore call on all ministers of congregations in the Polish Kingdom and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that they together and individually *pro conscientia discire et fideliter* their churches brought their Lordships the Patrons and Servants *Equestris ordinis* to inform HRH the King and the whole *Rzeczpospolita* at the Sejmiki and Sejms demanded such *utraquenia* for their defence and protection, urgently and faithfully, in all Palatinates and Districts.”¹⁹⁴ This was reflected in Czech Brethren synods, which called on patrons to defend their church to the Bishop of Poznań and the courts and co-operate with Calvinists and Lutherans to protest against the attacks on churches.¹⁹⁵ Szlachta patrons protected dissenters on their land and in their towns. Ministers appealed to them directly for financial aid, for example in a special collection to fund Brethren participation in the Colloquium.¹⁹⁶ Patrons were also expected to fund ministers, the responsibility passing down in families.¹⁹⁷

Under Zygmunt III dissenters in Great Poland were led by Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz, who died in 1636. His son Bogusław continued to support them fully but converted to Catholicism in 1642 just before becoming general starosta, leaving Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz as the most prominent regional dissenter.¹⁹⁸ Thus under Władysław, Czech Brethren patronage shifted to leading parliamentarians, representing the middle landed szlachta and thus the dominant political group in the region, such as Piotr Koźmiński and Jan Schlichting. Lutheran leadership, such as the Orzelski brothers and Bojanowski family, was of a similar social status.

Dissenter patrons allied with tolerant Catholics and co-ordinated politically across the Commonwealth, using the connections between sejmiki discussed above. Szlachta from Great Poland helped Royal Prussian cities fight to get Lutheran churches returned from Catholic appropriation. Andrzej Leszczyński

¹⁹⁴ BOZ 803, p.44.

¹⁹⁵ Leszno synod 29 IV 1643, ABC 1505, p.15; Secular elders' synods at Poznań 15 V 1609, ABC 1458 and 1610, ABC 1463.

¹⁹⁶ For example, Jan Schlichting was asked to fund a school and church, see Sebastian Macer's letter to him of 22 I 1644 in ABC 1383; Marcin Broniewski donated 300 złoty for a Brethren church and school on 12 I 1618; ABC 1775, pp.9-10. Letter on the Colloquium, ABC 1995.

¹⁹⁷ Examples include an appeal for support for a Mirosław minister, Poznań synod, 1 III 1600, ABC 1443, p.9; patrons called to fund the Poznań minister, Poznań synod 28 V 1601, ABC 1446, p.8; Broniewski continues his father's support of minister Bythner, Toruń synod 1620, ABC 1473, p.7.

led this initiative at the Sejms of 1594 and 1615; Marcin Broniewski was on the 1615 commission for toleration in Prussian cities.¹⁹⁹ Tolerant Catholics also used their land and contacts in Little Poland to promote toleration; Jan Ostroróg defended the Socinians after the Tumult of Lublin in 1596.²⁰⁰ These networks were not restricted to damage limitation; dissenters used them to advance their political interests and careers.

Great and Little Poland were bound together by dissenter alliances, allowing non-Catholics to network across the Commonwealth. Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz from 1619, held seven towns and over fifty villages outside Great Poland, including Praga near Warsaw, Baranów near Lublin, estates in Wołyń, Ruthenia and Lithuania, enabling him to patronise dissenters across the *Rzeczpospolita*. Like his father Andrzej, he supported Calvinists on his land in Little Poland.²⁰¹ Zbigniew Gorajski, the Reformed leader in Little Poland, married Rafał Leszczyński's daughter Teodora. Rafał and Zbigniew both joined the commission on the Lublin tumult of 1633.²⁰²

Dissenters from Lithuania and Great Poland also supported each other; church patronage was the basis for wider co-operation. The Czech Brethren asked Krzysztof Radziwiłł to supplement Rafał Leszczyński's support of Silesian immigrants arriving as refugees from the Thirty Years' War.²⁰³ Janusz Radziwiłł, Castellan of Wilno (1579-1620) was asked to assist Sędziwój Ostroróg in protecting Great Poland's Lutherans.²⁰⁴ Andrzej Leszczyński kept Krzysztof Radziwiłł informed on politics in the Polish Kingdom, sending him the articles from the Środa and Sieradz sejmiki, with promises to forward the Kraków, Lublin and Sandomierz ones.²⁰⁵ Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Rafał Leszczyński were political partners as leading dissenter patrons in their provinces, as well as personal friends.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁸ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, pp.99-100.

¹⁹⁹ Jarmiński, *Bez użycia siły*, pp.75-80; Sejm diary 1615, UAM MS 684, pp.115-117, pp.150-151; Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, p.104.

²⁰⁰ See his PSB entry.

²⁰¹ See his PSB entry.

²⁰² Dariusz Kupisz, *Zbigniew Gorajski* (Warszawa, 2000), p.45, p.58, p.85, p.126, p.206, p.208.

²⁰³ Letter from Leszno to Radziwiłł, signed by Comenius and 30 others, 24 IX 1629 in BK MS 1539 no.2.

²⁰⁴ Marcin Broniewski to Janusz Radziwiłł, 19 VII 1614 in ARV 1419, pp.48ff.

²⁰⁵ Andrzej Leszczyński to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 1 II 1598 in ARV 8376 nr. 7, p.24.

²⁰⁶ When Krzysztof's brother-in-law died, Krzysztof asked Rafał to become the guardian of his orphaned nephew; letter of Krzysztof to Rafał in 1615, ARV 23-301 nr. 104; see also chapter 4.3.

Marcin Broniewski was the classic example of a client linking provinces and churches across the *Rzeczpospolita*. In the late 1590s, Broniewski returned to his home province, after serving the Orthodox Palatine Konstanty Ostrogski in Ruthenia as a leading Czech Brethren activist for the non-Uniate Orthodox cause. The experienced parliamentarian then led the dissenters in the Środa sejmik, encouraged by Andrzej Leszczyński.²⁰⁷ Broniewski maintained contacts between the Radziwiłłs and dissenters in the Polish Kingdom, forwarding Krzysztof's letters to Reformed leaders including Gorajski in Little Poland, Jan Rozdrażewski and Latałski in Great Poland.²⁰⁸ He served as envoy for Środa from 1603-24, maintained close contact with Ostrogski and was the key contact for Krzysztof and then Janusz Radziwiłł at Środa.²⁰⁹ He also commanded respect from Great Poland's Catholic envoys such as his fellow *rokosz* leader Piotr Łaszczyński.²¹⁰

Commonwealth alliances crossed church divides. Great Poland's families including the Ostrorógs, Opalińskis and Leszczyńskis allied and intermarried across confessions with Little Poland's Firlejs and Tęczyńskis.²¹¹ Radziwiłł contacts in Great Poland included Catholics such as Jan Ostroróg and the Catholic convert Hieronim Gostomski, Palatine of Poznań, and even Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki. Krzysztof Radziwiłł's Socinian client Krzysztof Arciszewski talked to Gembicki at the 1623 Sejm; the Catholic Archbishop gave the Socinian a seat and walked with him to the stairs, asking that he pass on thanks for a favour Radziwiłł had done him.²¹² Zbigniew Gorajski kept the Leszczyński link with Catholic members of the family after Rafał died. He worked with Rafał's son Bogusław to limit the Raków judgement against the Socinians in 1638, in patronising Comenius's educational projects and in making financial proposals to the election Sejm in 1648.²¹³

Within Great Poland, leading Catholics supported large, confessionally diverse client networks. Andrzej Leszczyński, Rafał's nephew and vice chancellor,

²⁰⁷ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.75ff, p.92.

²⁰⁸ Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 15 IX 1621 and 27 IX 1622 in ARV 1419, pp.212-213, p.305.

²⁰⁹ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.127-130, pp.92-94.

²¹⁰ Andrzej Opaliński to Piotr Tylicki, Bishop of Warmia, on the 1600 Sejm in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.224-225.

²¹¹ Tables in Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, pp.137-138.

²¹² Arciszewski to Radziwiłł, 13 II 1623 in ARV 190, p.18; Hieronim Gostomski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł 6 VII 1599, 8 I 1603 in ARV 4580.

²¹³ Kupisz, *Zbigniew Gorajski*, p.70, p.107, p.151.

helped get Krzysztof Opaliński an audience with the king.²¹⁴ Opaliński's allies included tolerant Catholics like Adam Przyjemski, Castellan of Gniezno.²¹⁵ Besides the Catholic Mielżyńskis, he promoted many dissenter clients.²¹⁶ Socinians were among the most trusted, including Jan Wolzogen and Elias Arciszewski.²¹⁷ He patronised Lutheran candidates to the Crown Tribunal, a crucial forum for settling confessional conflicts. The Lutheran parliamentarian Witosławski also accompanied him to the Sejm in 1641; with Krzysztof's help he became an envoy a year later.²¹⁸

Przeclaw Leszczyński, twin brother of Wacław, the Archbishop of Gniezno, could not be more closely connected to the Catholic hierarchy. Yet he became a key patron of dissenters. The Czech Brethren capital Leszno and the Socinian centre Śmigiel came under his care. Przeclaw's support was important to the Brethren communities.²¹⁹ Przeclaw became guardian of his stepbrother Rafał's grandsons after Bogusław's death; his role included administering Leszno. Even the staunchly Catholic Czarnkowskis had non-Catholic clients, like the Lutheran parliamentarian, Świętosław Orzełski.²²⁰

Pure philanthropy was not motivation enough for these Catholics to patronise dissenters. For many Catholic patrons, dissenters were their natural client base, not least due to the large number of non-Catholics in Great Poland. Constitutionalist Catholics like Jan Ostroróg were also dissenter patrons; mixed confessional networks fitted their ideal of mixed government. Less idealistically, the szlachta saw the economic advantage of encouraging dissenter settlers into new towns.²²¹

Noble networks overrode church divides under the first two Wazas, fostering confessional diversity, from the smallest level of marriage between two individuals to a confessionally diverse regional elite and client networks across

²¹⁴ Krzysztof Opaliński receives Andrzej Leszczyński with letters from court; letter of 22 XII 1641 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.55. Krzysztof dines with Andrzej before getting a short audience with the king, who approves of his legal speech; letter of 18 II 1647, *ibid.* pp.377-379.

²¹⁵ Krzysztof's letter supporting Adam for the privilege of Koło, 14 I 1643 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.114.

²¹⁶ e.g. the sejmik of 1642, where he got both Broniewski and Mielżyński elected; letter to his brother Łukasz, 9 IX 1641 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.19.

²¹⁷ His *starostwo* of Kowal was administrated by Socinian Andrzej Czaplic, and he bought Wolzogen's library; letter of 1 X 1641 in Opaliński, *Listy*, pp.22-23.

²¹⁸ He supported Broniewski and Witosławski; see letters of 19 VIII 1641 and 9 IX 1641 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.12, p.19. Sejm in letters of 15 XI 1641 and 18 I 1642; *ibid.* p.49, p.62.

²¹⁹ Stanisław Drohojewski to Brethren minister Jan Bythner, 9 VII 1642, ABC 106.

²²⁰ See Orzełski's PSB entry.

²²¹ See chapter one on tolerant Catholics and on tumults, and chapter three on new churches.

the Commonwealth. Royal patronage to favour Catholics at the centre was balanced by szlachta patronage beyond the boundaries of confession in centre and regions. Clients brought patrons together through personal contact and political correspondence, receiving protection for themselves and their faith communities in return. This bound regions and confessions together and involved them in central government. Political and religious devolution went hand in hand to encourage involvement in, not alienation from the centre. Thus the social structure of Great Poland fostered toleration of confessional difference.

2.4.2: Confession and Office

The pluralism of szlachta society was reflected in the confessional balance among decision-makers. While Catholics dominated the highest office, Great Poland's dissenters, included in szlachta patronage networks, impacted on regional and national government, in the Senate and Chamber of Envoys.

Under Zygmunt, the number of dissenter senators decreased. The widely accepted explanation for the success of conversions is the personal policy of Zygmunt III, making conversion to Catholicism the only way to ensure political advancement. The composition of the Senate changed dramatically under his rule; the key shift took place in the 1590s, with Catholic senators in a majority from 1591. The number of non-Catholic senators on Władysław's death was a third of that on Zygmunt's accession.²²²

Year	Number of dissenter senators					
	Great Poland	Little Poland	Mazovia	Royal Prussia	Lithuania	Total
1572	11	21	5	3	19	59
1586	10	10	3	2	16	41
1606	4	5	0	0	9	18
1632	3	2	0	0	1	6
1648	1	3	0	1	7	12

²²² Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, "Oblicze wznaniowe senatu Rzeczypospolitej w dobie kontrreformacji" in idem. (ed.), *Munera Litteraria*, pp.41-56.

Yet dissenter senator numbers rose again under Władysław, increasing toward the levels of the 1600s.

The central administration was mostly Catholic under the first two Wazas. This includes royal secretaries, *referendarzy* (judicial officials) and the prestigious ministerial offices. The only non-Catholic from Great Poland was Czech Brother Stanisław Przyjemski, Crown Marshal of the Court in 1630. Converting to Catholicism helped many palatines' careers. Hieronim Gostomski and Jan Ostroróg gained the Palatinate of Poznań after converting. Three Palatines of Kalisz were former Protestants; ex-Calvinist Wacław Leszczyński, former Lutherans Jan Gostomski and Piotr Potulicki.

Yet Catholic leaders had different attitudes to toleration. The top three offices in Great Poland were dominated by sons of the Roman Church, but these were fairly evenly split between Catholic reformers, who promoted their own confession in accordance with Tridentine reform at the expense of dissenters in their lands, office or the Sejm, and tolerant Catholics – who proved their toleration of non-Catholics by promoting dissenter clients, including dissenters in their family by marriage, in their alliances and client networks, who supported dissenter communities on their land or were politically active to defend the Warsaw Confederation, as their biographies show.²²³ The general starosta was tolerant Catholic or dissenter for half the 61-year reigns of the first two Wazas.

General Starosta	Confession	Years in Office	Number of years 1587-1648
Stanisław Przyjemski	Czech Brethren	1628-42	14
Andrzej Opaliński	tolerant Catholic	1578-1593	6
Wacław Leszczyński	tolerant Catholic	1628	1
Bogusław Leszczyński	tolerant Catholic	1642-59	6
Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski	Catholic Reformer	1593-1627	34

²²³ See the PSB and appendix entries of all those mentioned, the introduction on Catholic Reformation and chapter 1.1.2 on tolerant Catholics.

A similar pattern emerges among the Palatines of Poznań. Of these, two dissenters, two tolerant Catholics, and two Catholic reformers, divided the 61-year period of office evenly between them.

Palatine of Poznań	Confession	Years in Office	Number of years 1587-1648
Stanisław Górka	Lutheran	1576-1592	15
Stanisław Przyjemski	Czech Brethren	1624-1628	4
Jan Ostroróg	tolerant Catholic	1610-1621	11
Krzysztof Opaliński	tolerant Catholic	1637-1655	11
Piotr Opaliński	Catholic Reformer	1592-1609	7
Jan Opaliński	Catholic Reformer	1622-1624	2
Hieronim Gostomski	Catholic Reformer	1628-1637	9

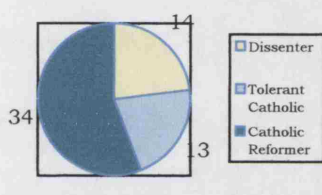
The third regional office, the Palatinate of Kalisz was filled for 57 years under the first two Wazas, and in dissenter hands for half that period:

Palatine of Kalisz	Confession	Years in Office	Number of years 1587-1648
Stanisław Przyjemski	Czech Brethren	1623-24	1
Zygmunt Grudziński	Calvinist	1628-52	20
Piotr Potulicki	Lutheran	1584-1604	5
	convert to tolerant Catholicism 1592		12
Wacław Leszczyński	tolerant Catholic	1618-20	2
Andrzej Czarnkowski	Catholic Reformer	1606-14	8

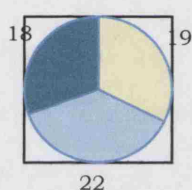
Jan Gostomski	Catholic Reformer	1628-52	3
Jan Opaliński	Catholic Reformer	1624-28	4

More Catholics than dissenters filled the top three posts in Great Poland in this period, yet these Catholic leaders had different attitudes to non-Catholics. While many of these key palatines and general starostas were ardent supporters of the Catholic Reformation, just as many combined personal faith in Catholicism with active acceptance of non-Catholics as equals and as clients. Catholic reformers shared the highest office in Great Poland equally with tolerant Catholics and dissenters. These three each held the top posts for about a third of the years of Zygmunt and Władysław's rule.

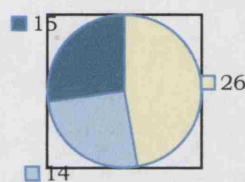
General Starostas



Palatines of Poznań



Palatines of Kalisz

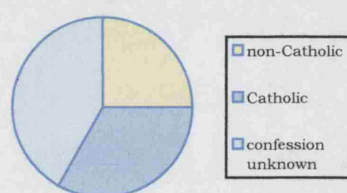


Though conversion certainly helped, it was no precondition for advancement. A mainly Catholic court and ministers were complemented by highly-placed religious nonconformists in regional office; the monarch needed the support of these powerful patrons. In Great Poland, three out of six Starostas of Wschowa, key judicial posts, were Czech Brethren in this period, Jan Górski from 1572-1588, Rafał Leszczyński from 1614-1616 and Sędziwój Ostroróg from 1616-1621. The Czech Brother Stanisław Przyjemski had a brilliant career; from 1623 to his death in 1643 he was Palatine in Kalisz, Poznań and Inowrocław, then general starosta and finally Crown Marshal of the Court. The careers of such leading dissenters as Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz, and Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz, only took off after the supposed hiatus of the Rokosz of Sandomierz, when they failed to back the crown.²²⁴

²²⁴ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.96.

A significant percentage of castellans in Poznań and Kalisz were dissenter under the first two Wazas. The confession of 20 major castellans was verifiable. Two Lutherans – Jan Roszkowski of Poznań and Jan Zborowski of Gniezno – and three Czech Brethren – Andrzej Krotoski and Rafał Leszczyński of Kalisz and Jan Rozdrażewski of Poznań – could be identified, making up 25% of the major castellans of the period. The proportions among minor castellans were the same; thus a quarter of all castellans are identifiable as non-Catholics.

Confession	Number of castellans (major and minor)
Czech Brethren	9
Calvinist	4
dissenter	2
Lutheran	7
non-Catholic	22 (25%)
Catholic	29 (33%)
unknown	37 (42%)
total	88



The number of dissenter castellans declined over our period, as was occurring in the rest of the Senate. Of these 22 castellans, one third were appointed before Zygmunt's accession, another third were appointed before the Rokosz of Sandomierz, and only one was appointed under Władysław IV – Mikołaj Latański, Castellan of Nakło. Nevertheless, this non-Catholic presence was significant as middling szlachta were the majority political force in Great Poland, giving non-Catholics strongly representation in the Senate.

An even greater proportion of dissenters were represented in the Chamber of Envoys and in local office in Great Poland. Though only 23% of greater senators (*Senatorowie wielcy*) were Protestant during Zygmunt's reign, Protestants made up 50% of *sędzia ziemskie*, who were appointed by the szlachta in the sejmiki.²²⁵ Where the regional szlachta had most influence,

²²⁵ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, pp.40-41, p.53, p.58.

they still chose to be represented by non-Catholics. The monarch approved all appointments, and thus acknowledged this choice.

An astonishing third of Sejm deputies from Poznań and Kalisz were Protestant in 1573-1655, including over half of 'middling' szlachta envoys.²²⁶

Wealth of envoys: Number of villages held	% of these envoys non-Catholic
1-5	51%
6-20	27%
20+	18%
Total	32%

Dissenters were prominent in the lower chamber of the Sejm across the Commonwealth, but Protestant numbers held in Great Poland while their numbers declined in Little Poland. From 1548-1572 half of all Poznań and Kalisz's Sejm envoys were dissenters, compared to a Commonwealth average of 30%.²²⁷ 38% of deputies from Środa were Protestant in 1572-1609, while for the rest of Zygmunt and the whole of Władysław's reign, the percentage of dissenter envoys remained steady at 31%. The representation of non-Catholics at the Sejm from Środa in the west was the same as that from the Ukrainian Palatinates of Kiev, Wołyń and Braclaw in the east, where 31-32% of sejm deputies were Orthodox from 1576-1648.²²⁸

Little Poland sent slightly fewer non-Catholics to the Sejm under the first two Wazas, though the Reformation initially found more szlachta supporters there. From the Lublin sejmik in 1572-1648, 36.5% of deputies were Protestants, but this declined from a high of 56.5% in 1572-1609 to 26.3% under Władysław IV.²²⁹ From the Kraków sejmik, 61% of deputies were Protestant from 1572 to 1609, but these numbers were reduced to 29% at the turn of the seventeenth century.²³⁰ Thus Great Poland compared favourably with Little Poland. More Protestant deputies were sent from the key palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz

²²⁶ Dworzaczek, "Skład społeczny", p.304.

²²⁷ Bardach, "Elections", p.133.

²²⁸ Jakowenko, "Posłowie", p.91.

²²⁹ Teresa Romaniuk, "Rola i znaczenie szlachty różnowierczej na sejmiku lubelskim w latach 1572-1648" in Henryk Zins (ed.), *Studia z dziejów epoki renesansu* (Warszawa: PWN, 1979), pp.267-284 (p.270).

²³⁰ Jan Serebnyk, *Parlamentarzyści drugiej połowy panowania Zygmunta III* (Opole, 1989) p.145.

than from Little Poland's main palatinates of Kraków and Lublin under Zygmunt and Władysław (figures for Sandomierz are not available).

The whole Chamber of Deputies chose dissenters to direct them as *marszałkowie*. 19% of these speakers were non-Catholics under Zygmunt III, including the Socinian Paweł Orzechowski (1550-1612), and under Władysław IV, 13% were.²³¹ This is yet another indication of how politically prominent dissenters were; Mercyng estimates, based on the number of parishes, that at the turn of the seventeenth century, one in six (16.6%) Commonwealth szlachta were non-Catholics.²³²

In a period when toleration was supposedly undermined by a Counter Reforming crown, Great Poland's confessional representation to the Chamber of Envoys remained remarkably consistent; a third of deputies from Poznań and Kalisz were non-Catholics. The dissenter parliamentary tradition continued unbroken in Great Poland into the 1650s, in marked contrast to the decline in non-Catholic senatorial numbers and even deputy numbers in Little Poland. Throughout the reign of the first two Wazas, the proportions stayed the same; the Środa sejmik sent 7 Catholics and 5 Protestants to Zygmunt's first Sejm in 1587, to Władysław's Coronation Sejm in 1632 and to the Convocation Sejm in the interregnum of 1648. Indeed Protestants formed a majority among Środa envoys in two key Sejms for confessional issues; the 1632 convocation Sejm, debating the Warsaw Confederation, and the 1635 Sejm that passed the *compositio*.²³³ This steady number of non-Catholic sejmik envoys in the Lower House is all the more important in a period when the deputies made the legislative decisions and their attendance at the Sejm was much higher than that of the Senate, as the figures cited above indicate. The local diets were becoming more politically important, and they were still choosing a disproportionate number of Protestants to represent them.

Dissenters such as the Czech Brother Władysław Przyjemski, the Lutherans Jan Rozdrażewski and Wacław Zajaczek were the most frequently-serving representatives to parliament from Great Poland, some attending over twenty

²³¹ Opaliński, *Sejm srebrnego*, p.136; Henryk Olszewski & Wojciech Sieradzki, *Marszałkowie Sejmów I Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 1993), p.34.

²³² Henryk Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie Protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 1904), p.19.

²³³ Figures from table 1 in Dworzaczek, "Skład społeczny", p.304.

Sejms. Czech Brother Jan Schlichting served as envoy 15 times and the Lutheran Świętosław Orzelski served 19 times, while his brother Łukasz served 23 times. Czech Brother Marcin Broniewski was also envoy to 15 Sejms, for Ruthenia and then Środa.²³⁴ Such frequent representatives have been called “szlachta leaders” (*przewódcy szlacheccy*) for the authority invested in them by repeated re-election.²³⁵ These dissenter parliamentarians were especially significant as they also took increasing responsibility for their churches as patrons. Such middling szlachta envoys were also the dominant political grouping among the regional nobility; the predominance of dissenters among them makes non-Catholics an even more important political force in Great Poland.

Catholics who served frequently as Sejm envoys included the Mielżyński brothers, the Manieckis, Hieronim Gostomski, and Maksimilian Przerębski from Sieradz. These six consistently supported royal policy and the Catholic Reformation. Gostomski and the Mielżyńskis were key regalists in the *rokosz*; the former helped negotiate with Janusz Radziwiłł towards peace and the latter defended the Jesuits against their critics.²³⁶ Crucially, the Mielżyńskis were also on the commission after the Poznań tumult of 1618, after which dissenter congregations left the city for over a decade.²³⁷

Other Catholics, however, worked with dissenters in parliamentary opposition. These included former participants in the *rokosz*, such as Marcin Żegocki or Piotr Łaszcz.²³⁸ They followed the pattern set at the beginning of Zygmunt’s reign, when Catholics and Protestants led years of opposition to his accession together. The soldier Piotr Opaliński was also involved in the *rokosz*. He opposed tax reform and wanted to legalise army confederations at the 1606 Sejm. Envoy for Środa four times between 1606 and 1616, he became Palatine of Poznań in 1622. Jakub Szczawiński and Marcin Żegocki both held the office of *marszałek* to the Chamber of Envoys twice.²³⁹ Their successor

²³⁴ See their PSB entries and Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, p.129.

²³⁵ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, pp.112-113.

²³⁶ The Mielżyński brothers were Łukasz (11 Sejms, twice speaker at Środa), and Maciej (9 Sejms, once speaker) while Hieronim and Maciej Maniecki clocked up 7 Sejms between them; see their PSB entries.

²³⁷ See chapter one on tumults.

²³⁸ Żegocki signed the June 1606 *rokosz* declaration at Środa; Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.300. He was envoy for Środa 5 times between 1621 and 1629; idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, p.105, p.105, p.204, p.218, p.271, p.301. On Łaszcz see Opaliński, Bishop of Poznań to Tyliński, Bishop of Warmia, on the 1600 Sejm in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.225; Byliński, *Sejm z roku 1611*, pp.88ff.

²³⁹ See tables in Samsonowicz (ed.), *Władza*, pp.174ff.

was Andrzej Przyjemski, four times envoy, who took the Swedish side in the Deluge.

Toleration would have failed when dissenters were excluded from decision-making; this was not yet the case in Great Poland under Zygmunt and Władysław. Under the father, reconversions to Catholicism did gather pace, affecting representation in the Senate, though this trend was reversed under the son. Yet dissenters had a regional alternative to royal patronage; they found tolerant Catholic sponsors among the highest palatines and general starostas. Dissenters made up a quarter of castellans and remained a consistent one third of envoys in the key palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, making them a force to be reckoned with in both chambers of the Sejm, on two sides of the triangle of mixed government. Though the crown favoured Catholics at court, this was balanced by a regional szlachta who still knew that liberty of conscience was central to their liberties and that religious peace was needed to preserve political peace; mixed confessions were part of a mixed government. Thus toleration was fostered by the devolved structure of the Commonwealth, sustaining confessional diversity despite a Catholic royal court and more Catholic senators. The success of Zygmunt's Counter Reformation was limited; state confessionalisation was resisted by a tolerant szlachta at the heart of the Polish Kingdom.

2.5: Conclusions

The state shaped the confessional reality within it – the political framework of the *Rzeczpospolita* made toleration possible. Great Poland shows that there was a third way of constitutional reform and freedom of conscience without royal absolutism or unlimited szlachta liberty, in the interests of both nobles and crown, between Counter Reformation homogenisation and church fragmentation. Dissenters were represented by one quarter of castellans and one third of Sejm envoys in Poznań and Kalisz, making them central to decision making regionally and nationally. Crucially, dissenter leaders were to be found among the politically dominant group in Great Poland; middling szlachta, holding up to five villages each, were the vast majority of landholders in Poznań and half of those in Kalisz.

In a polity where church and state authority were devolved and the crown just one facet of a mixed government, royal support was not enough to ensure wholesale catholicisation. The monarch could only govern effectively with the support of a multi-confessional szlachta; in Great Poland at least, they and their leaders were confessionally diverse under Zygmunt and Władysław.

The model of the state did not change in the first half of the seventeenth century; three ruling forces - crown and szlachta in both houses of the Sejm - and three branches of Christendom - Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox - continued to contribute to Commonwealth government, seeking to build the best possible state without absolute rule, secular or spiritual. This was no stasis and decline, but a functioning system, in tune with other European polities, whose rulers also governed by consulting their estates.

The szlachta estate thus held the real power to implement confessionalisation or toleration in practice, within their local jurisdictions. Conversions to Catholicism were affecting the Senate, but not the Chamber of Envoys, the place of the middling szlachta which dominated Great Poland. So the secular leadership supported toleration in this province, but whether regional church leaders were so keen is another matter. The next chapter will examine the changing relations between churches under the first two Wazas, to show how well confessionalisation was working.

3. Confessions in Great Poland

The central issue for this chapter is how open conflict between churches, even religious war, could be avoided for so long in the *Rzeczpospolita*, when elsewhere in Europe confessions were confronting each other, bolstered by the power of the state. Great Poland was the region with the most complex mix of confessions in the Commonwealth, where dissenters were most willing to overcome their differences. The Reformed were the dominant Protestant confession in Poland-Lithuania, but in Great Poland these were a minority. When a new agenda, including prayers and orders of service was printed for Commonwealth Calvinists and Czech Brethren in 1634, 300 copies were issued for Lithuania, 200 for Little Poland and just 100 for Great Poland.¹ There were only three Calvinist parishes in the whole region. As in other provinces, there was a Socinian minority in Great Poland. In the 1580s, the Czech Brethren had 38 parishes and the Lutherans 80-120 – but the latter had fewer ministers.² In contrast the number of Catholic parishes by 1591 was 1117.³ This was the same proportion as in Little Poland, where Protestants administered one in nine parishes in the Kraków diocese.⁴ In Little Poland the confessional mix was different; there were few Lutherans and 150 ministers attended the regional Calvinist Synod in 1580.⁵

Confessionalisation was the process by which all churches sought to impose uniformity of belief and practice, strengthening their structures of authority and distinguishing themselves clearly from other denominations to form their own faith identity. Catholic and Protestant confessionalisation needed acceptance ‘from below’ as well as direction ‘from above’; whether churches needed the strong arm of the state to confessionalise has been increasingly called into question.⁶ The previous chapter has shown that the szlachta participated in building the Polish-Lithuanian State, increasing their control of government from the regions through their sejmiki and the Sejm, rather than

¹ Tworek, “Staranie o ujednoliczenie” p.128.

² Dworzaczkowa, “Reformacja w Wielkopolsce”, pp.554-555, p.570.

³ The figures, covering the whole population, are based on lists of parishes by the seventeenth-century historian of the Reformation, Andrzej Węgiński, data gathered by nineteenth-century historians Józef Łukasiewicz and Adolf Pawiński, synod acts, and church foundation documents. *Mercyng, Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.4-5, p.18.

⁴ Kowalski, *The Reformation*, p.1.

⁵ Schramm, *Der polnische Adel*, p.92.

ceding power to either the crown or a narrow senatorial elite. This devolution aided confessional diversity among the political class, and facilitated the existence of four non-Catholic confessions in Great Poland. We have seen that non-Catholics made up a third of Sejm deputies, while they owned just one ninth of parishes, and dissenters were also protected by noble patrons. Yet conversions to Catholicism increased at the turn of the seventeenth century, despite political support for dissenters. This chapter establishes the confessional scene in Great Poland, showing that dissenter and Catholic churches used similar methods to achieve confessional conformity and renewal; it makes sense to speak of parallel reformations in Poland-Lithuania. The mechanisms of confessional change in all churches in the region are examined; church reform and renewal, social discipline through synods and censorship, education and the return of church buildings to Catholicism and the building of new ones. This will help explain how confessionalisation occurred, and how far it depended on the state.

3.1: Dissenter Churches

While studies of individual confessions in Great Poland exist, such as Dworzaczkowa's on the Czech Brethren,⁷ there is much to be gained from looking at confessions together, in a period when churches were closely connected, as the fate of one Czech Brethren parish at Obrzycko illustrates. Gmiterek laments the loss of this church in 1638. He notes in passing that it ended up in Lutheran hands, rather than being returned to the Catholics like so many others in the period.⁸ But this was not the end of the story. The take-over of the Czech Brethren church by Lutherans rather than Catholics becomes more interesting in conjunction with the fact that Lutherans took over the Socinian centre Śmigiel at the same time.⁹ Was the influx of Lutherans pushing out other churches? By looking at where confessions overlap the broader trends of religious change can be discerned.

⁶ Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung?"; see also discussion of Forster's work in the introduction.

⁷ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*.

⁸ Henryk Gmiterek, "Utrata Ostroroga i zabiegi o utworzenie nowego ośrodka Braci Czeskich w Obrzycku in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 23 (1978), pp.103-121 (p.119).

⁹ Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.135.

3.1.1: Great Poland's Protestants

In 1591, the percentage of dissenters per palatinate ranged from a high of 27% in Inowrocław to 16% in Poznań and less than 5% in Sieradz and Łęczyca. This compared with from 21% in Sandomierz to 5% in Wołyń in Little Poland. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Lutherans were concentrated in the north and west, in Poznań, the Kościań, Nakło, Wałcz and Międzyrzecz districts. Lutherans and Czech Brethren made the town of Wschowa 85% Protestant, the largest dissenter concentration in the Commonwealth.¹⁰ The Czech Brethren settled in the districts of Poznań, Kalisz, Cujavia, Nakło and west Sieradz. Only in Leszno did the Brethren outnumber the Lutherans. In 1590s Poznań the largest Brethren parish numbered fewer than 500 souls, while the largest Lutheran parish had 2400.¹¹ In 1591 there were 120 Polish and 110 German congregations in Great Poland, while by 1655 the number of Polish-speaking communities had fallen to 30; by this time the return of buildings to Catholicism had made a serious impact.¹²

Luther's Reformation reached Poznań as early as 1520, making his followers the dominant Protestant confession in Great Poland. This was due to proximity to the German lands; ministers were trained in Silesia and Wittenberg in the sixteenth century. Other confessions could not ignore the influence of Wittenberg. The Reformed rejected the Lutheran understanding of Christ's presence in the Eucharist as too close to the Catholic interpretation; the doctrine of justification by faith alone was also peculiar to the Lutherans.¹³ Having lost their most important patron with the death of the last Górkas in the 1590s, and feeling the effects of reconversions to Catholicism, Polish Lutherans struggled and their last superintendent left for Wilno in 1615. Yet as a result of the Thirty Years' War, immigration from the German and Habsburg territories boosted the Lutheran population again. Lutheranism in Great Poland remained strong, the majority German-speaking and urban; from the 1630s the new generation of regional superintendents were German speakers, though they also preached in Polish.¹⁴ The main Lutheran patrons

¹⁰ Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.13-15, p.17.

¹¹ Schramm, *Der polnische Adel*, p.90; Dworaczekowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", pp.556-558.

¹² Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.15.

¹³ See Comenius's exposition of Lutheran beliefs in Borgius, *Aus Posen*, pp.116ff.

¹⁴ Jolanta Dworaczekowa, "Reformacja a problemy narodowościowe w przedrozbiorowej Wielkopolsce" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 23 (1978), pp.79-104; idem., "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.544, p.549, p.570.

in Great Poland were the Górkas. While they were a leading regional dynasty, Stanisław, the last of their line died in 1592, to the detriment of all regional Protestants. Much Górka land fell into the hands of the Catholic Reformer Czarnkowskis, who liquidated dissenter churches.¹⁵ Other prominent Lutherans compensated for this loss, including the parliamentarian Orzelskis, and the senator Kościelskis and Potulickis.

Lutheranism tied Great Poland closely to neighbouring Royal Prussia. In the 1550s, King Zygmunt August granted freedom of religion to Lutherans in towns where they were in a majority, most of which were in Great Poland. The privilege was granted to six regional towns – Wschowa, Brójce, Międzyrzecz, Skwieżyna, Czaplinek and Wałcz - and three - Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg - in Royal Prussia. German and Lutheran identity are traditionally linked in Royal Prussia. Yet inter-confessional conflict was only exacerbated with the Deluge and was not tied to territorial self-determination. The Prussians remained politically loyal to the *Rzeczpospolita*, despite their confessional difference, until the eighteenth century.¹⁶

Royal Prussia's Lutherans forged links with other dissenters in Great Poland, which helped to slow Lutheran confessionalisation in Prussia.¹⁷ Great Poland's Lutheran synods received representatives from Toruń in the 1560s and 1640s and Great Poland's dissenters printed their works there. The city planned to buy Gliczner's library after his death. Commonwealth ecumenical meetings were held in Toruń in 1595 and 1645. The Czech Brethren and Lutherans reached a formal consensus in 1563 which prefigured that of Sandomierz.¹⁸ Socinian expansion into Royal Prussia went through Great Poland. On Zygmunt's accession the Arciszewski family and minister Marcin Ruar supported the Gdańsk Socinians, who met in widow Arciszewska's Gdańsk house. Later, Socinian communities including Międzyrzecz benefited from Prussian ministers. Prussia and Great Poland received joint visitations.¹⁹

¹⁵ Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.564. See below on church returns and foundations.

¹⁶ Michael Müller, "Protestant Confessionalisation in the towns of Royal Prussia and the Practice of Religious Toleration in Poland-Lithuania" in Ole Peter Grell and Bob Schribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.262-281; Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*, pp.131-132, pp.217-220.

¹⁷ Müller, *Die zweite Reformation*, pp.180-182.

¹⁸ Tadeusz Glemma, *Stosunki kościelne w Toruniu w stuleciach XVI i XVII* (Toruń, 1934), p.71, pp.78-79, p.87, p.198.

¹⁹ Szczotka, "Synody arian", pp.39-40, pp.45-46, p.60, p.64, p.67, p.75, pp.82-94, p.87.

The Czech Brethren were especially active in Royal Prussia, where they supported both their own believers and Lutherans as fellow Protestants within the framework of the Sandomierz Consensus. Though Comenius had some important works printed in Gdańsk, he published his philosophical and pedagogical works in Leszno.²⁰ Czech Brethren clergy were welcome to work in the Philippist (more irenicist, in the tradition of Philip Melancthon) Lutheran parishes of Toruń and Gdańsk; as Sandomierz signatories their pastors could serve in each others' churches. Comenius spent time in Elbląg in the 1640s.²¹ Books, ministers and money were sent from Leszno to cities such as Toruń, where the Czech Brethren funded the dissenter school.²² They received requests for German-speaking ministers already in 1610, tried to sort out confessional controversies in Malbork a year later, and sent psalters and catechisms to Toruń in 1620.²³ Toruń and Gdańsk increased their appeals to the Brethren in Great Poland in the later 1640s, asking for money, bilingual preachers and Polish publications.²⁴ The Czech Brethren complained of Lutheran intolerance in Toruń just once, when they had problems conducting a funeral in 1599.²⁵ Royal Prussia was the outpost of the Czech Brethren world, where ministers with a dubious past were sent to be out of the way, rather than a hinterland of support. Minister Jan Chodowiecki was accused of murdering his brother Wojciech by members of his congregation – the synod cleared him but sent him to Prussia.²⁶

In Great Poland the stereotype of the Lutherans as German and isolated from the more genuinely Polish Reformed and Catholics does not apply. While most Lutherans in Poland originated from German-speaking immigrants, they were Phillipists, and thus integrated with other confessions to the extent that shocked the doctors of theology at Wittenberg, from their acceptance and

²⁰ Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów*, p.334.

²¹ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, p.7; Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, p.280.

²² Brethren ministers frequently travelled to and from Toruń, elder Paweł Paliur's diary of 1629-32 in ABC 1608; Schlichting gave 2000 złoty to the Toruń dissenter school - thank you letter of 2 V 1639 in ABC 2540, p.418; Great Poland's canciones were printed in Toruń - secular elders' synod at Poznań 1611, ABC 1465, p.10; Jan Turnowski ministered for years there, replaced by Paweł Orlicz on his death, Dębica synod 14 V 1625, ABC 1479, p.7; the Brethren were still sending ministers to Prussia from the Leszno synod of 14 X 1638, ABC 1502, p.5.

²³ Toruń synod 25 IV 1610, ABC 1462, p.18; Ostroróg synod 2 V 1611, ABC 1465, p.16; Toruń synod 1620, ABC 1473, p.7. Jan Schlichting was appointed to take 20 000 złoty to fund the Ostroróg school's move to Toruń; Leszno synod 20 III 1639, ABC 1503, pp.8ff.

²⁴ Leszno synod 16 V 1647, ABC 1512, p.1, pp.13-14. Nicolas of Gdańsk to Brethren minister Marcin Gertrich, 1 III 1647, 2 I 1648, 12 X 1649, 5 II and 17 VII 1647 in ABC 746, p.15, p.17, p.747, p.750; Gdańsk thanks Gertrich for a new pastor, in 1648 ABC 756; minister Chodowiecki was sent from Ostroróg to Prussia, Bythner's letter to Krzysztof Olśnica on 17 II 1647, ABC 757.

²⁵ Gołuchów synod, 2 I 1599, ABC 1442, p.12.

²⁶ Leszno synod 24 XI 1643, ABC 1506, p.7.

enforcement of the Sandomierz Consensus to their irenicism in the Colloquium Charitativum, as chapter one has shown. The effects of these efforts were felt among Lutherans elsewhere, notably in Royal Prussia. The Lutherans' spur to confessional co-operation was their interaction with the Czech Brethren.

The Czech Brethren mother church was in Moravia; under the Habsburgs, they lacked the support of territorial rulers, but were at first dependent on Moravian doctrinal authority. The Polish Kingdom, in practice Great Poland, was one of three provinces in the Czech Brethren Church, sending four of twelve bishops to its governing council, and they continued to send representatives to each other's synods. They deferred questions on changing ceremony to the Moravian synod in 1598, and the Brethren in Poland received books and a printing press from Moravia.²⁷ They sent their *cancional* home for approval in 1609, hoping it could be printed in Poland.²⁸ Yet Brethren ministers did not always return home to study; they attended Calvinist universities such as Basel and Heidelberg, or Lutheran ones like Frankfurt/Oder.²⁹

Immigration was the wellspring of the Czech Brethren in Poland, originating in the Hussite heresy, in Silesia and Great Poland before the Reformation. The first wave of emigration to Great Poland occurred in 1548, when Ferdinand I Habsburg expelled the Brethren, and many settled on the outskirts of Poznań. Though some later fled to Royal Prussia, many stayed, in towns including Koźminek and Kórnik. The Brethren integrated into Polish society easily. There was no separate Czech-language church until the exiles from rebellion against the Habsburgs arrived in 1627-8, including Comenius; thereafter their church increasingly centred on Leszno.³⁰ New immigrants made an impact; Leszno grew from 300 families in 1618 to 2000 in 1658.³¹

Czech Brethren theology was located between Lutheran and Calvinist position both on their understanding of the real presence in the Eucharist and on the

²⁷ Poznań synods of 12 VI 1598, ABC 1439, p.10; 28 V 1601, ABC 1446, p.6.

²⁸ Ostroróg synod 14 V 1609, ABC 1457, p.13.

²⁹ Kaśinowo synod 26 IV 1602, ABC 1447, p.8; Leszno synod 2 VII 1633, ABC 1491, p.25; Leszno synod 20 III 1639, ABC 1503, p.10.

³⁰ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, pp.157ff, p.200; idem., *Z dziejów*, p.19, p.22.

³¹ Tazbir, *Państwo*, p.211.

importance given to faith in salvation. Like the Socinians, they were Anabaptist, but did not share Socinian anti-Trinitarianism.³² Straddling the confessional divide in this way, the Brethren were thus crucial for ecumenical relations in the Commonwealth. This is clear from Reformed synods, where the Czechs from Great Poland were used as correspondents, taking news and invitations back to the Lutherans.³³ The Czech Brethren remained prominent in Great Poland until the Deluge; Leszno was burnt in 1656 and the community emigrated west via Silesia.

The Brethren had enjoyed broad urban support in Bohemia, but were unable to translate this to Great Poland, where they needed szlachta patronage to survive, as the nobility even dominated towns.³⁴ The Czech Brethren's main szlachta patrons were the elite Leszczyński family. Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz, was recognised as the leader of all dissenters in the Polish Kingdom. Leszno, which also had a Lutheran population, became the main centre for the Czech Brethren from 1636 when their parish at Ostroróg closed. The town remained under Leszczyński patronage even when Rafał died that year, and his son Bogusław continued to support the Brethren even after converting to Catholicism in 1642. After Rafał's death, Jan Schlichting, *sędzia ziemskie* for Wschowa, took over as their main secular elder. The Ostroróg, Broniewski and Krotoski families were also important patrons.³⁵ Even on their lands, Brethren patrons decided not to force peasants to convert; minister Jerzy Israel persuaded Jakób Ostroróg against forcing conversions in the 1550s.³⁶ Thus the Brethren remained a minority church.

Great Poland was the only province in which the Czech Brethren were a significant confession, though individual Czechs played an important role in Reformed Churches elsewhere; Andrzej Węgierski (1600-1649) became their superintendent in Little Poland under Władysław.³⁷ Brethren ministers were not only Czechs but Hungarians, Scots and Genevans. The Czechs thus shared the benefits of a glut of immigrant ministers proportional to their exiled

³² Stanisław Kot, *Socinianism in Poland* (Boston, 1977), pp.161-162.

³³ See for example the Little Poland General Synod at Bełżyce, 19 X 1613 in AGAD MS 264, p.422.

³⁴ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.61-65.

³⁵ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.55.

³⁶ Dworzaczkowa, *Z dziejów*, pp.33-4.

³⁷ Henryk Gmiterek, "Prowincje czy konfesje? Przyczynek do sprawy ujednoliczenia obrzędku w zborach kalwińskich i braci czeskich w XVII w." in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 29 (1984), pp.145-153 (p.146, p.148).

population. They froze ordinations in the 1630s, despite suitable candidates; they could not expand their parish structure fast enough to keep pace with immigration. The Brethren aided the Calvinists in Great Poland for decades before their union.³⁸ Their clergy also served regional Lutheran parishes.³⁹ The Czech Brethren supported Silesian Protestants too, Lutheran and Reformed.⁴⁰ They sent ministers to Silesia until the dangers of the anti-Habsburg rebellion made them reluctant to send more.⁴¹

The Brethren in Great Poland gradually became a mature, separate community. On Zygmunt III's accession they had a school, a hospital and were founding a library in Poznań.⁴² Then Leszno was established as a school for all Brethren in Poland.⁴³ When the Kraków Brethren wanted a new Bible published, it was corrected in Great Poland. Moravian delegates to Poland accepted that the Polish church could unite with other Protestants, if they remembered their own traditions.⁴⁴ From 1628, Polish ordinations took place locally. Moravians feared polonisation of their exiles, who introduced new practices such as raising the host.⁴⁵ As union with the Calvinists approached, the home church worried that their Polish brothers were deviating from the confessional norm.⁴⁶

The Calvinist church province of Great Poland only had congregations in Cujavia,⁴⁷ the area closest to Little Poland and Royal Prussia, far from the region's political centre. Indeed the Reformed church in other parts of the Commonwealth treated the Czech Brethren as their correspondent in Great Poland, rather than the Cujavian Calvinists.⁴⁸ Earlier attempts at union between the two confessions before Sandomierz had faltered over differences on the doctrine of justification; Calvinist leader Jan Łaski argued that the

³⁸ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.44-45, p.145.

³⁹ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.197.

⁴⁰ Balthasar Leuschner to Brethren minister Marcin Gertrich, 16 V 1651 in ABC 741.

⁴¹ Toruń synod, 31 VIII 1620, ABC 1473, p.8.

⁴² Poznań synod 8 X 1587, ABC 1429, pp.3-5.

⁴³ Koźminek synod 18 X 1602, ABC 1448, p.9.

⁴⁴ Leszno synods of 12 II 1604, ABC 1449, p.6; 16 XI 1609, ABC 1459, pp.10-11.

⁴⁵ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.149-150. Synod of Bolesław in Moravia recommends annual visitations, 7 VI 1598 in ABC 1588, pp.27ff; Poznań synod 29 VI 1589, ABC 1430, p.11, pp.17-18; Synod at Koźminek, 18 X 1602, warns against new ceremonies, ABC 1448, p.32; Polish agendas should conform to Moravian ones, Koźminek synod 1612, ABC 1466, p.9.

⁴⁶ Leszno synod 28 VI 1632, ABC 1486, pp.9-11.

⁴⁷ Gmiterek, "Prowincje czy konfesje?", p.146.

⁴⁸ Tworek, "Staranie o ujednoliczenie".

Brethren did not acknowledge the imperfection of human faith. Their beliefs on the Eucharist and clerical celibacy also differed.⁴⁹

Dworzaczkowa records just three regional Calvinist parishes; Dębica, Chomętowo and Brzeskorzystew.⁵⁰ Almost all their clergy were Polish by 1570. The Calvinists in Great Poland were financially much worse off than their fellow believers in Little Poland and Lithuania, though they too were mostly szlachta.⁵¹ The most important Calvinist regional patrons were the Latalskis, including Mikołaj, Castellan of Nakło, and the Grudzińskis, including Zygmunt, Palatine of Rawa and his son Andrzej, Palatine of Kalisz. Having united on a regional basis in 1627, the Calvinists and Czech Brethren formally became one Commonwealth church in 1634. The Reformed union was the least centralised and biggest dissenter church, though reconversions to Catholicism began to affect it in the 1640s. Perhaps Reformed Christianity fitted the szlachta devolved understanding of state and church authority best.

In contrast, the Socinians were a radical minority. Their Commonwealth centre was Raków in Little Poland, until its destruction in 1638. Their significance in Great Poland is less well known. Socinians were Anabaptist and rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, making them not even Christian according to many.⁵² Significant patrons in Great Poland included the exiled Austrian Baron, Ludwik Wolzogen and the soldiering Arciszewski family. Minister Jonasz Schlichting was born near Śmigiel, Great Poland's Raków. Most Socinians in Great Poland were Polish-speakers, though some were of German origin.⁵³ Believers represented a cross-section of society from szlachta to traders, artisans and peasants.⁵⁴

Despite its small size, Great Poland's Socinian community produced important theologians, including Andrzej (c.1550-1623) and Krzysztof (1598-1648) Lubieniecki, Krzysztof Ostrorodt (d.c.1611) and Jan Völkel. Walentyn Schmalz (d.1612) worked on the Raków Catechism, translated the New Testament into

⁴⁹ Henryk Gmiterek, "Jan Łaski a problem unii kalwinistów małopolskich z braćmi czeskimi w XVI w." in Wojciech Kriegseisen and Piotr Salwa (eds.), *Jan Łaski 1499-1560* (Warszawa, 2001), pp.27-38 (pp.35-36).

⁵⁰ Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.555.

⁵¹ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, p.45, pp.64ff.

⁵² George Williams (ed.), *The Polish Brethren Documentation vol. 1* (Harvard, 1980), p.187; Earl Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America* (Harvard, 1952), pp.167-168.

⁵³ Krause, *Die Reformation*, p.32.

⁵⁴ Lech Szczucki (ed.), *Wokół Dziejów i tradycji Arianizmu* (Warszawa, 1971), p.13.

Polish, and entered into polemic with the Poznań Jesuits in the 1590s.⁵⁵ Jan Crell (1590-1633), one of the most prominent Socinian writers, was sent to their Międzyrzecz and Śmigiel churches to minister from 1622.⁵⁶

The Śmigiel community was founded in the 1560s and employed up to three clergy. There was a second parish near Międzyrzecz.⁵⁷ After Raków was dissolved in 1638, Great Poland's Socinians became more prominent. The history of Śmigiel shows that even when communities came under Catholic ownership, the churches could be returned again to dissenter hands. Catholic Wacław Rozdrażewski bought part of Śmigiel in 1595 and permitted the Lutherans to build their church there. While the Socinian church was burnt that year and not rebuilt, Rozdrażewski allowed the Socinians to continue worshipping. The town returned to a Socinian owner in 1611 and had a minister until pastor Völkel's death in 1618. The death of Śmigiel's Socinian owner Kasper Brzeźnicki - in 1627 - returned the whole town to Catholic hands.⁵⁸ This was no tragedy; Przeclaw Leszczyński, later Starosta of Wschowa, bought Śmigiel a year later. After the Socinians' expulsion in 1658 he pretended to buy Socinian Elias Schlichting's land, drawing up a false contract, helped him attempt to return to Poland, and cared for his son.⁵⁹ Even the Socinians worked hard to integrate into Great Poland's confessional landscape, aided by szlachta of other confessions.

Polish Socinian thought reached Wittenberg via Wojdowski, who carried Schmalz's ideas there in the 1590s.⁶⁰ The Catholic priest at Śmigiel, Woytinowicz, was given a licence by the Holy See to possess Socinian books, which were of course on the *Index*.⁶¹ Both churches needed to face the real danger that Socinianism would win over Catholic and Lutheran converts in a multi-confessional state.

The role of Protestant churches in Great Poland differed significantly from elsewhere in Poland-Lithuania, affecting the balance of power between confessions regionally and in the Commonwealth. While Moravia and

⁵⁵ Dworaczekowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.556; Luckfiel, "Der Sozinianismus", p.139, pp.164-165.

⁵⁶ Raków Synod of 1622 in Szczotka, "Synody arian", p.69; Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, p.129.

⁵⁷ Dworaczekowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", pp.555-556.

⁵⁸ Luckfiel, "Der Sozinianismus", pp.173-186.

⁵⁹ See his PSB entry.

⁶⁰ Luckfiel, "Der Sozinianismus", p.138.

⁶¹ *Licentia data Jakuba Woytynowicz legendi libros prohibitos parafii Smiglensis* (1645) in APMP 974-966.

Wittenberg supported immigrant churches in Great Poland, these slowly loosened their ties with their mother churches. Great Poland's Protestants were then able to support other dissenters further afield, in all provinces of the Commonwealth and in Silesia.

In Great Poland churches consciously chose to work with each other to an extent that churches elsewhere in the Commonwealth did not. They were doing more than presenting a united front against Catholic pressure. With Catholics, Czech Brethren, Calvinists, Lutherans and Socinians all mixed in Great Poland, whereas in other provinces two confessions usually dominated. This diversity put churches on a more equal footing, giving them more opportunity to live out the Sandomierz Consensus on a local level. Furthermore, dissenter communities relied on patrons who had signed up to the principle of equal but different churches in the Warsaw Confederation and, as in Leszno and Śmigiel, often supported congregations of more than one denomination on their estates. Calvinists were a minority in Great Poland, and thus more ready to initiate the process of union with the Czech Brethren, while the Lutherans were Philippists, with a tradition of irenicism. The churches of Great Poland thus encouraged their fellow believers in other regions to co-operate, as the Reformed union indicates. This co-operation extended to other dissenters from Rome.

3.1.2: Common Cause with the Orthodox

The Orthodox functioned as an eastern 'other' against which both Catholics and Protestants in the Polish Kingdom defined themselves. Their own identities were shaped by their perspective on the Eastern Church. This is most interesting in Great Poland; though there was no local Orthodox population, Catholic and Protestant attitudes to Orthodoxy offer insights into how they viewed their own religion and state.

Part of the Orthodox Church accepted the authority of the Pope in the 1596 Union of Brześć, while retaining their own liturgy and hierarchy. This was a great success for the Catholic Reformation, as such a union was rare, and there were hopes to extend it. Although the Uniates were disadvantaged, as their bishops had no seat in the Senate, Greek Catholics still made up one

third of the Commonwealth population.⁶² Catholic historians blame Russian imperialist and then Soviet historiography for unfairly giving the Uniate Church a bad name.⁶³ In Lithuania and Ruthenia the expansion of new orders was associated with polonisation and latinisation on Orthodox territory.⁶⁴ There was thus much Orthodox resistance to the Union, both clerical and noble, led by the last great defender of their faith, Konstanty Ostrogski, Palatine of Kiev (1526-1608); so the new church did not end the divide between Catholic west and Orthodox east.⁶⁵

Those non-Uniate Orthodox who rejected Greek Catholicism were perceived as *dissidentes* from the Uniate Church in the same way that Protestants were called dissidents from Roman Catholicism. Piotr Koźmiński, *czesnik* of Kalisz “praised the fact that peace had been made on jurisdictions with the *pars dissidentium* of the Greek Church.”⁶⁶ The joint Orthodox and Protestant Synod of Wilno followed on the heels of Brześć, in 1599; their reaction to expanding Catholicism was not to impose their own confession, but to join forces. Orthodox and Protestants became natural allies in the common cause of toleration, co-ordinating politically to defend and extend their rights at the Sejm in 1595, 1596 and 1597, before their formal partnership agreement in 1599.⁶⁷ This alliance held through the following decades, notably at the 1615 Sejm, the 1632 interregnum, and in the dissenter response to the Colloquium in 1645.⁶⁸

Dissenters from Great Poland were active allies of the Orthodox, seeing the mutual advantage of having non-Catholic partners beyond the region's borders. While the Poznań synod was affirming the Sandomierz Consensus in 1570, the Czech Brethren elder Rafał Leszczyński was on a diplomatic mission to Moscow following the Union of Lublin. Minister Jan Rokyta (d.1591) accompanied him and held a theological debate with Ivan IV ‘the Terrible’ (1530-1584). The Brethren hoped to open up a dialogue between Orthodox

⁶² Dorobisz and Kaczorowski, “Sieradzanie”, p.273.

⁶³ Bolesław Kumor, “Geneza i zawarcie unii brzeskiej” in Ryszard Łużny et al. (eds.), *Unia brzeska: geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich* (Kraków, 1994), pp.26-44 (pp.41-42). The official (and preferred) title of the Uniate Church is Greek Catholics in Central and Eastern Europe; for concision, “Uniate” is used here.

⁶⁴ Kłoczowski, “Zakony męskie” p.722; Litak, *Od Reformacji*, pp.67ff., pp.84ff.; Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp.104-105.

⁶⁵ Hanna Dylagowa, “Unia brzeska – pojednanie czy podział?” in Łużny et al. (eds.), *Unia brzeska*, pp.45-53.

⁶⁶ 1632 election Sejm, BC MS 363, p.358b.

⁶⁷ Jaromiński, *Bez użycia siły*, p.145, p.174, pp.181-183.

⁶⁸ Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, pp.25-26; chapter 1.3.2 on the Colloquium.

and Protestants which could bring the churches closer together, though the Tsar responded that Orthodoxy was the only true church.⁶⁹ Already at Toruń in 1595, Czech Brethren minister Szymon Turnowski traced a tradition of Orthodox and dissenter dialogue going back to 1451, when the Patriarch of Constantinople had written to the Hussites, supporting their break with Rome: “The Greek Church is much closer to Apostolic teaching than the Roman one.”⁷⁰ Konstanty Ostrogski wrote to the 1595 synod, offering the support of all Ruthenia.⁷¹ Parliamentarian Marcin Broniewski built on this synod’s work. As Ostrogski’s client and a Czech Brethren Sejm envoy for Środa, Broniewski was well placed to bridge the gap between eastern and western dissenters. He co-ordinated their political alliance at the Sejm in 1595, and wrote a condemnation of the Brześć Union in 1597.⁷²

Great Poland’s Protestant church leaders fought for a truly multi-confessional state. Brethren patron Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć, was a leader at the 1599 Synod, where Turnowski presented points on which Orthodoxy and Protestantism agreed as the basis for church union. Calvinist Daniel Mikołajewski backed the plan and Lutheran superintendent Erasmus Gliczner travelled with him to the synod. Ostrogski responded that even if the Orthodox clergy were not ready for this, their szlachta would co-operate.⁷³ Theological union was not possible; while neither party acknowledged the Bishops of Rome, Protestant scriptural authority was incompatible with Orthodox respect for tradition. Instead a political alliance was sealed at this meeting, which called both Orthodox and evangelical patrons to appeal to the Sejm and crown for protection. It was signed by Andrzej Leszczyński and Wacław Leszczyński, future General Starosta of Great Poland. Other key regional signatories included Jan Rozdrażewski, the Czech Brother and Castellan of Poznań, Jan Zborowski, the Calvinist Castellan of Gniezno, Marcin Broniewski and Lutheran parliamentarian Mikołaj Orzelski.⁷⁴ The joint Orthodox and Protestant statement at Wilno cited the Warsaw Confederation and argued they were both full citizens of the Commonwealth. They also agreed to co-ordinate their synods, aiming to hold them at the same

⁶⁹ Jørgensen, *Ökumenische Bestrebungen*, p.276; Rokyta’s PSB entry; BR MS 192, p.125.

⁷⁰ Successive preachers at the synod followed his lead; Szymon Turnowski, *Kazania synodowe na generalnym ewangelickim synodzie w Toruniu 1595* (Królewiec, 1599), pp.30ff., p.47, p.65.

⁷¹ BR MS 219, pp.15-17.

⁷² Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.26-33, pp.78ff., p.183.

⁷³ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.83ff.; Wotschke, *Erasmus Glitzner*, pp.51-52.

⁷⁴ BR MS 46, pp.26-30.

time.⁷⁵ Great Poland's political leaders kept their promise in the next generation; Andrzej's son Rafał Leszczyński, Palatine of Belz, sat on the 1632 interregnum commission on relations between Uniate and non-Uniate Orthodox. Lutheran Łukasz Orzelski, *marszałek* at the Coronation Sejm of 1632, extended the debate on toleration to include the Orthodox. He argued that they should be included in any *compositio* settlement and stressed that Catholics and dissenters – from Roman and Greek Catholicism – were equal and guaranteed peace under the Confederation.⁷⁶

Some Catholics emphasised the common ground they shared with the Orthodox, fearing the potential force that Protestants and Orthodox could muster as demonstrated at Wilno in 1599. Then, polemicist Sebastian Wapierski emphasised the differences between the non-Roman confessions and ties between the Greek and Latin churches. He even attempted to push dissenters beyond the pale of Christendom altogether by associating them with Muslims.⁷⁷ In 1633 the Jesuit provincial congregation banned preaching against the non-Uniates.⁷⁸ Other Catholics went much further and joined dissenters in defending toleration of the non-Uniate Orthodox, notably at the 1615 Sejm. The whole *Środa sejmik* stated that toleration must include “freedom for the Orthodox to hold religious services” in its 1632 affirmation of the Warsaw Confederation.⁷⁹ This effort paid off – the Orthodox hierarchy was legally recognised again that year.⁸⁰

Confessionalisation was limited by the compromises necessary in a multicultural state; both Catholic and Protestant confessions in Great Poland decided against relentless conversion and expansion into the Eastern Church in favour of peace and closer ties with the Orthodox. Both western church traditions would benefit from alliance with the Eastern Church, giving them a stronger voice in Commonwealth confessional politics, to carry more weight in decision-making from Sejm debates to Tribunal rulings, from the practical questions of church ownership to theological debates on the source of spiritual authority. It was precisely this integration of the Polish Kingdom and

⁷⁵ In ABC 1979 pp.4ff.

⁷⁶ BR MS 8, p.220; *Akta bezkrólewia 1632* in BC MS 363, p.152,.

⁷⁷ Sebastian Wapierski, *Odprawa rozprawy nieprawdziwej* (Kraków, 1599), pp.9-12.

⁷⁸ Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, p.322.

⁷⁹ *Środa sejmik 10 VI 1632* in BR MS 231, pp.270-271.

⁸⁰ See 1.2.2 on Orthodox rights.

Lithuania, plurality and co-existence, which neighbours like Muscovy feared.⁸¹ The Eastern Church provided a counterweight to the Western Churches, offering an established alternative to Catholicism which strengthened the argument for toleration of non-Catholics, and showing that confessional pluralism had long been possible, also when the *Rzeczpospolita* was strong. The multiethnic, multi-confessional Commonwealth only started to fray at the edges with Chmielnicki's rising in the year of Władysław's death.

3.2: The Catholic Church

Any understanding of the Roman Church in early modern Poland is coloured by its enormous influence on Poland today, when over 90% of the population identifies itself as Catholic and the visit of the first Polish Pope is seen as a crucial factor in the revolution of 1989. The early modern Commonwealth was much more diverse; while Catholicism was the religion of the monarch and a large proportion of the population, the church needed to work with the szlachta estate, and with other confessions, Protestant and Orthodox. The greatest stumbling block between Roman or Greek Catholic and non-Catholic confessions was papal authority. Vatican influence within Poland-Lithuania had a limited impact, however, as the Polish tradition of conciliarism, critical distance from the Pope in favour of collective church leadership, found echoes in church-state relations under the first two Wazas.

The Archbishopric of Gniezno, the 'Polish Canterbury', served the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania, while one in Lwów served the south-east (the bishoprics of Przemyśl, Chełm, Łuck, Kamieniec and Kiev). Since Gniezno was in Great Poland, it could be expected that Catholic influence was greater there. Certainly the Catholic Church there seems better organised, with four bishoprics (Gniezno, Poznań, Włocławek and Płock) compared to one in Little Poland, at Kraków, from a total of fifteen in the Commonwealth.⁸² The parish structure was also denser in Great Poland, which had the lowest number of souls per parish in the Polish Kingdom.⁸³ Yet Great Poland's church was not the richest. The Bishop of Kraków, not the Archbishop of Gniezno was the

⁸¹ Barbara Pendich, *The Burghers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the war of 1654-1667: Resilience in the Face of Muscovite Annexation* (PhD thesis, Georgetown University 1998).

⁸² Schramm, *Der polnische Adel*, p.93.

⁸³ Stanisław Litak, "Struktura i funkcje parafii w Polsce" in Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół*, pp.261-283 (pp.281-283).

wealthiest Polish cleric.⁸⁴ The Catholic Church owned less than a tenth of agricultural land in the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, giving clerical patronage less weight than in Little Poland, where the church owned every fifth village.⁸⁵

Poland gradually absorbed the Catholic Reformation. Before the 1580s, despite the efforts of Cardinal Stanisław Hosius, who led sessions of Trent himself, the Catholic offensive was not really organised.⁸⁶ The Council of Trent's decisions were accepted by the monarch in 1564, by the Polish Synod of Piotrków for the Gniezno archdiocese in 1577, and by the Poznań diocese only in 1642; the synod aimed to get the whole diocesan clergy behind episcopal efforts to implement the reforms: no easy task.⁸⁷ According to Trent, diocesan synods had to be held annually with a provincial synod every three years, but this was reduced to three and six years in the Polish case. Even with this leeway, there were no diocesan synods after 1643, provincial ones were increasingly rare, and visitations also petered out in the latter part of the century.⁸⁸ In the Poznań diocese, 83% of parishes had a priest, but these were not always resident and 5% held two benefices. These clerics mostly held very low incomes; almost half (47%) had only one *łan* measure of land and only two thirds received tithes.⁸⁹ These difficulties were by no means exceptional in contemporary Europe; even in staunchly Catholic areas like Milan and Bavaria, the Roman Church faced many challenges in implementing the reforms of Trent. "Only in the middle of the seventeenth century had the religious situation stabilised; religious organs functioned regularly and visible results in life and 'pietas' were reached."⁹⁰

The first generation of post-Tridentine bishops made the most headway. Noteworthy bishops in Great Poland include Wawrzyniec Gembicki and

⁸⁴ Wincent Müller, "Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim" in Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół*, pp.57-217 (pp.135-136).

⁸⁵ 10% in the 16th century, while in Kraków, this rose from 17% to 23% by 1629; Władysław Czapliński, "Błaski i cienie kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w okresie potrydenckim" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 14 (1969), pp.5-25 (p.9).

⁸⁶ Andrzej Banach, "Konwersje protestantów na katolicyzm w Koronie 1560-1600" in *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Prace Historyczne* 77 (1985), pp.21-35 (p.23); on Hosius see Pazera, *Kaznodziejstwo*, pp.171ff.

⁸⁷ Janusz Mandziuk, "Polskie duchowieństwo parafialne doby potrydenckiej" in Krystyn Matwijowski (ed.), *Studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności czasów nowożytnych* (Wrocław, 1993), pp.34-102 (p.34); *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642); Marian Fąka (ed.), *Synod diecezjalny poznański z 1642 r.* (Warszawa, 1971), p.157, p.176, p.251.

⁸⁸ Müller, "Diecezje", p.501, pp.721ff.

⁸⁹ Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, p.33, p.181, p.209.

⁹⁰ Angelo Turchini, "Bayern und Mailand im Zeichen der konfessionellen Bürokratisierung", in Reinhard (ed.), *Katholische Konfessionalisierung*, pp.394-404 (p.403).

Bernard Maciejowski, who both became primates at Gniezno. Archbishops Karnkowski and Baranowski established diocesan seminaries in Poznań and Cujavia, Włocławek and Gniezno respectively. Archbishop Łubieński founded dozens of churches and reformed the seminaries.⁹¹ Yet this initial enthusiasm had waned by the 1630s. Zygmunt III's support and increased Catholic confidence in the face of the Protestant reformations was one factor; perhaps the need to compete had grown less pressing.⁹²

The implementation of Tridentine innovations proceeded slowly. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century visitations showed the local impact of Trent, including the provision of schools in most parishes.⁹³ Trent ruled that all bishops should have a degree; in Poland from 1616-45, only four out of 38 did.⁹⁴ The new seminaries averaged just twelve students annually and only 5% of clergy spent any time in a seminary.⁹⁵

In contrast the growth of religious orders, traditional institutions invigorated by the church renewal of Trent, was impressive. Female orders were a quarter of male numbers, and included the Benedictines who came to Poznań in 1608.⁹⁶ Twenty male orders were active by the 1650s. The Dominicans and Bernadines both tripled between 1580 and 1600. The Jesuits had eleven colleges by 1600, and expanded rapidly so that by 1634 they had 42 colleges across the Commonwealth.⁹⁷ Yet even these regular clergy were no confessionalising crusaders. Local Dominicans and Jesuits stated proudly that the Inquisition was unheard of in Poland. "Do you see the Spanish and Italian inquisitions before you? You are in Poland and Lithuania, where no shadow of these inquisitors is to be seen."⁹⁸ There were fewer foundations in Poznań than in other regional capitals. Only two monasteries were founded between

⁹¹ See their PSB entries; Józef Nowacki, *Dzieje Archidiecezji Poznańskiej t.2* (Poznań, 1964), p.104; on Karnkowski see Pazera, *Kaznodziejstwo*, pp.177ff.

⁹² Müller, "Diecezje", pp.58ff, pp.213-217.

⁹³ Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), *Zarys dziejów kościoła katolickiego w Polsce* (Kraków, 1986), p.94.

⁹⁴ Müller, "Diecezje", p.114, p.125.

⁹⁵ This compared reasonably with other provinces; Stanisław Olczak, *Duchowieństwo parafialne diecezji poznańskiej w końcu XVI i 1 połowie XVII w.* (Lublin, 1990), p.121, p.130.

⁹⁶ Elżbieta Janicka-Olczakowa, "Zakony Żeńskie w Polsce" in Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół*, pp.733-778, (p.743, p.778).

⁹⁷ Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie", pp.485ff., p.723, pp.595ff., pp.513-515, pp.562-563.

⁹⁸ Quote from Dominican court preacher Fabian Birkowski, *O egzorbytancyjach przeciwnych kościołowi...* (Kraków, 1632) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Myśl*, pp.493-509 (p.494). Piotr Skarga, *Dyskurs na konfederację* (Kraków, 1607) in Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.361-372 (p.363).

1600 and 1650, compared with double the numbers in Kraków and Wilno and a threefold increase in Warsaw.⁹⁹

The Pope involved himself directly in Polish affairs, commenting on election candidates, seeking to undermine the Warsaw Confederation and encourage monarchical loyalty to the Vatican. Nuncio and Cardinal Caetani wrote to the 1606 Sejm, calling for an end to the *rokosz*.¹⁰⁰ The Poznań diocesan synod also received a letter from Rome calling it to encourage the return of dissenter churches to Catholicism.¹⁰¹ The impact of these efforts is debatable, since Polish bishops relied on royal and noble patronage.¹⁰²

Polish Catholicism had always asserted its autonomy from Rome. Poland was a significant contributor to the conciliarist tradition, which sought to ensure that collective leadership by church councils held the ultimate spiritual authority, rather than 'papal monarchy'. This tradition was honed in the Polish conflict with the Teutonic Knights in the fifteenth century and continued influential on Polish church and state politics into the seventeenth. Though of course it is extremely difficult to trace the direct impact, this corporative leadership model also influenced the Polish model of mixed government.¹⁰³ The political theorist Aleksander Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572) was the link between this medieval tradition and the age of the reformations. He joined the call for a national church, and this was taken up by Jakub Uchański, Bishop of Chełm, before he became Primate and realigned himself with Rome.¹⁰⁴ Dissenters stressed this tradition of independence from the Vatican, arguing that Commonwealth law was more important than Roman law.¹⁰⁵

Polish Catholics continued to disregard Roman directives; the Polish Catholic translation of the Bible was a clear breach of Tridentine rules. Having a vernacular alternative, rather than being distinguished by using the Latin

⁹⁹ Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie", p.607.

¹⁰⁰ Diary of Caetani's trip to Poland in 1596-7, BR MS 16, pp.65ff., p.78.

¹⁰¹ *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), p.M3, p.M4r.

¹⁰² Jan Dziegielelewski, "Biskupi rzymskokatolicki końca XVI – pierwszej połowy XVII w. i ich udział w kształtowaniu stosunków wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej" in Sucheni-Grabowska (ed.), *Miedzy monarchią*, pp.191-210 (pp.200-201).

¹⁰³ Thomas Wünsch, *Konziliarismus und Polen* (Paderborn, 1998), pp.383-386.

¹⁰⁴ Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *Wybór pism* (Wrocław, 1977), p.243, idem., *O kościele księga druga* (Warszawa, 1957), p.51, p.241, p.278. Kumor (ed.), *Historia*, pp.65-68.

¹⁰⁵ Świętosław Orzelski to the 1632 Coronation Sejm, BR MS 8, pp.240bff.

version of scripture, made Commonwealth Catholics more similar to other churches – the lines of confessional difference were not so sharply drawn. Vernacular catechisms were available before Zygmunt III's accession; the first Polish one in 1568 and the first Lithuanian one in 1585.¹⁰⁶ Great Poland's Jesuits produced a vernacular Bible to rival Protestant translations. Jakub Wujek (1541-1597), born near Poznań and rector of the Jesuit college there, translated the Bible into Polish (published 1599), including notes countering the Lutheran interpretation. This edition was used for thirty years until the doctrines of Trent were enforced and the 1634 synod decreed it heretical.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in the later seventeenth century use of the vernacular to strengthen Catholic Reformation returned.¹⁰⁸ Polish-language Catholic hymns were used, particularly Christmas and Easter carols.¹⁰⁹

Catholic responses to religious difference in Great Poland were not united under one Counter Reformation banner. Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Bishop of Kamieniec and later of Poznań, signed a dissenter project for a *proces konfederacji* in 1588, enforcing the Confederation by bringing the perpetrators of tumults to justice. Goślicki's justification was in his signature, which included the words "*propter bonum pacis*"; it would take his fellow bishops years to come to the same conclusion that peace was paramount.¹¹⁰ In Catholic synods, the fight against heresy often paled before the age-old conflict between secular and regular clergy; the Bishop of Poznań reprimanded abbots and orders for not attending his synod in 1621.¹¹¹ Clergy and laity were divided too; secular patrons also clashed with religious orders. The region's Catholics, including Krzysztof Opaliński, Adam Grodziecki and Bogusław Leszczyński feared that Queen Cecilia's support for the Franciscans to found a house in Poznań in 1643 would encroach on the established Bernadine influence and privileges; the Franciscans were not only upsetting other orders, but were too close to Poznań castle. Krzysztof Opaliński also criticised the Benedictine nunnery for the luxury in which the nuns (including his sister Franciszka!) lived.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Litak, *Od reformacji*, p.106.

¹⁰⁷ It was only reintroduced in the nineteenth century. Rhode, *Geschichte*, pp.47-48.

¹⁰⁸ Katarzyna Zielińska, "Program integracji społecznej w świetle uchwał kościoła potrydenckiego" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 28 (1983), pp.93-110 (p.104).

¹⁰⁹ Kumor (ed.), *Historia*, p.365.

¹¹⁰ Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p.47; see 1.2.2 on tumults.

¹¹¹ Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae VII*, p.88.

¹¹² Correspondence between the royal couple, bishop of Poznań, local orders, Opaliński and Grodziecki on this, 1643-4, BR MS 149, pp.56-71 (p.65b, p.70b); Sajkowski, *Krzysztof Opaliński*, pp.174-177.

Commonwealth Catholics did not break with their past to embrace the reforms of Trent. The “synthesis known as Baroque Catholicism” included pre and post-Tridentine forms. The reforming hierarchy and traditional faithful often wanted the same thing, such as more resident priests. The revival of traditional practices such as pilgrimage, the growth of old as well as new orders and saints’ cults, and the expansion of fraternities all reflect this. Catholic confessionalisation was thus more a groundswell of revival from below than an imposition of enlightened reform imposed from above, in Poland-Lithuania as elsewhere in Europe.¹¹³ Studies on the impact of Catholic Reform on the parish level suggest that the focus was on the problems of pastoral care and catechesis which had existed before the Reformation began; “not Counter Reformation, but ordinary measures to increase the faith of parishoners were the real priority for the seventeenth century church.”¹¹⁴

This synthesis of old and new included the szlachta, the essential ally of the Catholic Reformation in the *Rzeczpospolita*, in contrast to Austria, France and Spain, where the Catholic Church oriented its politics primarily to royal needs.¹¹⁵ Leaders of the Catholic hierarchy were instrumental in the reconversion of elite individuals, though existing studies do not give overall conversion rates.¹¹⁶ Very personal reasons stimulated conversions. Jan Ostroróg described how his childless Lutheran mother visited a shrine of the Virgin Mary at Sokał, and she became pregnant with him. He felt that his own attachment to this Madonna was crucial to his own conversion, and he was buried at the monastery near her shrine.¹¹⁷

The reasons for reconversion are many; crown and clergy were key, but a revival of popular piety was just as important. Chapter two has shown that top offices went to converts, and Catholic education was another factor, discussed below. The most prominent regional szlachta whose conversions I could find – six palatines, two general starostas and two castellans - include

¹¹³ Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque* (Cambridge, 2001), p.9, p.11; Kumor (ed.), *Historia*, pp.355-362; Kłoczowski (ed.), *Zarys dziejów*, p.100.

¹¹⁴ Waldemar Kowalski, “Środowiska parafialne dekanatu jędrzejowskiego doby recepcji ustaw trydenckich” in idem. and Jadwiga Muszyńska (eds.), *Kościół katolicki w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym* (Kielce, 2001), pp.237-258 (p.257).

¹¹⁵ Tazbir, *Państwo*, p.211.

¹¹⁶ Banach, “Konwersje protestantów”, esp. p.31.

¹¹⁷ Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, p.255.

five Lutherans, two Czech Brethren, two Calvinists and one other dissenter. Four of these converted in the first five years of Zygmunt's reign, four more by his death, and two more under Władysław.¹¹⁸ The chronology of these conversions is similar to the return of churches to Catholic hands analysed at the end of this chapter, peaking in the early seventeenth century.

Monarch and hierarchy were not the only governing forces in the Commonwealth. Catholicism was most successful where its interests dovetailed with those of the szlachta. The leading lights of the Catholic Reformation, the Jesuits, were very aware of this.

3.2.1: *The Society of Jesus*

The picture of Catholicism in Great Poland was significantly altered by the arrival of the Jesuits in 1573. Having initially relied on royal patronage, they gradually absorbed the Commonwealth understanding of the church's role in the state. Once they realised that they needed szlachta as well as royal support to influence a mixed government, their success was assured.¹¹⁹ Jesuits enjoyed the support of the most important regional szlachta, including General Starostas Andrzej Opaliński and Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski. Jan Gostomski, Palatine of Kalisz, funded the Jesuit College at Wałcz. The Przyjemskis Andrzej and Władysław, Castellan of Łęczyca and Palatine of Kalisz respectively, helped the Jesuits build houses, a church and school. The parliamentarian Mielżyński brothers defended the Jesuits during the Rokosz of Sandomierz.¹²⁰

Jesuit education was the hallmark of their success. A Jesuit College was founded in Poznań in 1573. A college in Kalisz followed in 1584, founded by Archbishop Stanisław Karnkowski.¹²¹ In Great Poland, the Poznań Jesuit College increased the number of converts among its noble students up to an estimated peak of 120 in the year 1592.¹²² Some dissenters studied there

¹¹⁸ These were, in order of conversion date, Jan Ostroróg, Hieronim and Jan Gostomski, Piotr Potulicki, Wacław Leszczyński, Zygmunt Grudziński, Kasper Denhoff, Andrzej Przyjemski, Bogusław Leszczyński and Adam Grodziecki. See appendix for details.

¹¹⁹ Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, p.114, pp.121-122, p.377.

¹²⁰ See their PSB entries.

¹²¹ Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia*, pp.260-261.

¹²² Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce t.4* (Lwów 1906) cited in Dworaczekowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.563.

without converting, including the Czech Brother and General Starosta Stanisław Przyjemski. By the 1620s the Order had over 1300 students in the city.¹²³ The order ran the Poznań diocesan seminary and a school for teachers, spreading their message through one of their first theatres in Poland.¹²⁴ All bishops of Gniezno and Kraków in the seventeenth century had studied at the Jesuit College in Rome.¹²⁵ Two Archbishops of Gniezno were educated at Poznań's Jesuit College – Wacław Gembicki and Wacław Leszczyński – three more attended the Kalisz and then the Roman College.¹²⁶

Yet the Jesuits did not hold an educational monopoly. In Great Poland, as in Little Poland, the szlachta and bishops made sure that a non-Jesuit Catholic alternative was available, educating Commonwealth leaders to the highest level. In Great Poland, the Lubrański Academy was re-established in Poznań in 1609, and lasted until the National Education Commission formed in 1773.¹²⁷ Prominent szlachta including Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki, Sędziwój Czarnkowski, Castellan of Poznań, the Opaliński brothers Krzysztof and Łukasz, all studied there.¹²⁸ The Lubrański Academy conflicted with the local Jesuits, echoing the Order's conflict with the Kraków Academy as rival providers of higher education in Little Poland. The Kraków Academy opposed Poznań Jesuit plans to open a university with departments of philosophy and theology, defending the Lubrański Academy as its *filia* in Poznań, where many Kraków teachers taught. This appeal reached the Pope, who forbade the Jesuits from establishing an academy in Poznań, just as he later did for Kraków.¹²⁹ Local szlachta at all levels, from general starosta Wacław Leszczyński to the Środa sejmik took the Academy's side.¹³⁰ Bishops of Poznań also supported non-Jesuit academic alternatives, preventing the Society of Jesus from gaining complete control of education. Andrzej Opaliński encouraged Kraków Academy professors to teach at the Lubrański

¹²³ Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, p.79.

¹²⁴ Irena Brzozowska, *Jezuici w Poznaniu* (MA thesis, UAM Poznań, 1991) pp.94-95, pp.35-37, pp.56-57, pp.71ff.; See Alojzy Sajkowski, "Życie kulturalne" in Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, pp.574-614. (pp.596-598) on Jesuit theatre and its didactic function.

¹²⁵ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 1998), p.114.

¹²⁶ Maciej Łubieński, Jan Wężyk and Jan Lipski; see their PSB entries and on Wężyk see Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji*, p.104.

¹²⁷ Gołębowski, "Rola i znaczenie Kolegium", pp.11ff.; Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, p.113.

¹²⁸ See their PSB entries; also Dorobisz and Kaczorowski, "Sieradzanie", p.277.

¹²⁹ Stanisław Gołębowski, "Rola i znaczenie Kolegium Lubrańskiego i Kolegium Jezuickiego dla Wielkopolski w XVI, XVII i XVIII w." in *Przegląd Wielkopolski* 3 (1977), pp.10-19 (pp.11-12). See also chapter 5.2.

¹³⁰ Jan Pięknorzecki, *Gratis plebański gratis wyćwiczony* (Poznań, 1627); Środa sejmik 29 I 1613 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.419; Środa sejmik 1633 in BR MS 231, p.310; Jesuit appeal to Środa of 10 X 1625 in BK MS 341, p.48.

Academy from 1613. Though he also approved of founding a Jesuit Academy, his successor Gembicki opposed it. The bishop and the college were still quarreling about jurisdiction over students in the 1640s.¹³¹

Other tensions also arose between the Society and secular hierarchy. Though concerned about Jesuit education, the archbishop and bishops in Great Poland were not interested in Jesuit missions, as their correspondence with Rome shows.¹³² The regional hierarchy also disagreed with the Jesuits over tumults, as shown in chapter one, though there was less conflict over control of parishes in Great Poland than in other provinces.¹³³

The Society of Jesus distinguished itself from other Catholics by being far more ready to condemn other confessions. The Jesuits composed almost all the Catholic polemic literature in Poznań in this period. Bembus summarised the central Jesuit argument; “freedom of religion is freedom for heretics”.¹³⁴ One defence of the Poznań Jesuits argued that “ministers are permitted to use the sword” (force), to save the weak from wavering.¹³⁵ Marcin Śmiglecki (1563-1618) became rector of the Poznań College. His *Absurda synodu toruńskiego* (1595) denied the spiritual authority of dissenter synods, condemning all non-Catholics; “for centuries it has been unheard of that heretics should hold a General Synod”.¹³⁶ The Kalisz-born Jesuit Marcin Łaszczycki (1551-1615) censored Jakub Wujek’s Catholic translation of the Bible, and wrote against Calvinists, Lutherans and Socinians.¹³⁷ Non-Jesuit exceptions included the Cistercian Ostrowski’s anti-Socinian work.¹³⁸ Ostrowski seemed more prepared to engage with his opponents; he even attended their Śmigiel synod to debate in 1594.¹³⁹ This is significant as the Catholic abbot was prepared to meet with the anti-Trinitarians at a time when even other Protestants were not – a year later the Socinians were excluded from the Synod of Toruń.

¹³¹ see their PSB entries and Andrzej Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań, to the Rector of the Jesuit College in 1642 in BR MS 149, p.56b.

¹³² *Constitutiones synodis diocesana Gnesnensis 29 III 1593* (Poznań, 1593), pp.17ff.; *Constitutiones synodis archidiocesana Gnesnensis 13 IX 1620* (Kraków, 1621), p.G1.

¹³³ Bolesław Kumor, “Działalność Jezuitów w świetle *relatio status* polskich biskupów z XVII stulecia” in Stanisław Obirek (ed.), *Jezuici a kultura polska* (Kraków, 1993), pp.175-176, p.184.

¹³⁴ Bembus, *Pax non pax*, p.464.

¹³⁵ Anonim Chwalibowski, *Odpis na rycerstwo jezuickie* (Poznań, 1597), p.B1r.

¹³⁶ Marcin Śmiglecki, *Absurda synodu Toruńskiego* (Wilno, 1596) p.7.

¹³⁷ Piotr Wilczek, “Jezuici i Arianie” in *Literatura i Historia 10* (1999), pp.14-25 (pp.21-22).

¹³⁸ Stanisław Ostrowski, *De Trinitate* (Poznań, 1591); idem., *Refutatio examinationis Socini* (Poznań, 1594).

¹³⁹ Szczotka, “Synody arian”, pp.47-48.

The Jesuits entered directly into dialogue with dissenters, seeking to prove the truth of Catholicism against dissenter 'errors'. Stanisław Górka, who belonged to the generation that hoped Lutheran reform would not mean a complete break with Rome and still paid tithes and alms to the Catholic Church, was on good terms with the Kalisz Jesuits, but he died before the Poznań tumults began.¹⁴⁰ Several theological debates were held, which Jesuits wrote up as critiques of their opponents' theology. Hieronim Powodowski debated with Socinian minister Krzysztof Ostrorodt at Śmigiel 1592.¹⁴¹ Prakovius, a philosophy student at the Poznań College, held a public debate with Lutheran Gliczner on the Mass.¹⁴²

When reasoned theological debate failed, dissenter polemic focused on the Jesuits as a source of religious conflict.¹⁴³ The Socinians delegated Marcin Czechowicz (1532-1613) to respond to Jesuit polemic at their 1573 Synod in Sieradz.¹⁴⁴ Śmigielecki's *Absurda* provoked an impassioned argument for the legitimacy of the 1595 collective synod, condemning Jesuit colleges as the source of unrest.¹⁴⁵ Brethren polemic included Jan Turnowski's *Nowiny z Poznania* (1614) on the burning of dissenter churches.¹⁴⁶

Jesuit polemic was also fuelled by dissenter attacks. The Lutheran minister Gliczner's *Appellatia* (1598) condemned Catholic 'errors' such as worship of images and abuse of power by the Catholic clergy, including those who held multiple benefices. Interestingly, he said Polish Catholicism was not very guilty of such 'faults'.¹⁴⁷ Attacks on the powers of the Catholic clergy were a common theme in Protestant defences of toleration. "Where did the Roman popes get their crowns, if not from Christ, who came before them, whose rule was not of this world?... Lord Jesus Christ... destroy the enemy which has ensconced itself within your church."¹⁴⁸ The Jesuits responded that Protestants were no more tolerant; "let them listen to their Beza, who responds thus in one of his theological letters: 'to allow liberty of conscience, to allow

¹⁴⁰ See his PSB entry.

¹⁴¹ Luckfiel, "Der Sozinianismus", pp.161-162; Hieronim Powodowski, *Weryfikacja dysputacji wtórej Śmigiełskiej* (Poznań, 1594).

¹⁴² Melchior Prakovius, *Artes a imposturae novi evangelii magistrorum* (Poznań, 1589), p.D1r.

¹⁴³ Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.107.

¹⁴⁴ Szczotka, "Synody arian", p.27.

¹⁴⁵ Civis Polus, *Historia Confederationis Polonicae* (Wilno, 1596), pp.L4ff.

¹⁴⁶ Turnowski in Korolko, *Klejnot*, p.106.

¹⁴⁷ Gliczner, *Appellatia*, p.K, p.Nii, pp.Riiif.

¹⁴⁸ See Edmund Bursche (ed.), *Apologeticus, to jest obrona Konfederacyey* (1582, Kraków, 1932), s.111 and Tyniecki, *Respons*, pp.39ff., pp.44-47.

everyone who wishes to, to be damned, is a diabolical view. And just so diabolical is that liberty which the unhappy inhabitants of Poland and Transylvania are suffering today, as in no other country under the sun.' Let the evangelicals take note of this."¹⁴⁹ Dissenter treatment of Catholics in Prussia gave the latter reason to complain of Protestant intolerance.¹⁵⁰

Still, most dissenter polemic stressed that neither they nor the Confederation aimed to "force others to accept our confession against their will".¹⁵¹ The Brethren were particularly keen to prevent the distribution of anti-Catholic literature from the Netherlands in Poland, as it disturbed confessional relations.¹⁵² Socinians too preferred to wait: "soon the truth of the Christian religion will rise like the sun, errors will vanish, just as the shadows do at sunrise."¹⁵³ As a minority, dissenters may have had to be more careful with their words. Yet far from retreating in the face of Catholic dominance, they put their energies into politics, as the previous two chapters have demonstrated.

The Jesuits drove the Catholic Reformation in Great Poland, as their educational expansion and prominent supporters show. Yet their influence did not go unchallenged; other religious orders were expanding and popular, secular clergy were not always so supportive of regular clergy, the Lubrański Academy offered an educational alternative to the Jesuits which paralleled that of the Kraków Academy in Little Poland. Jesuit confessional expansionism was not well received by other Catholics, from bishops to laity. Jesuits were almost the only Catholics to engage in confessional polemic, though dissenters knew how to respond in kind. Catholics who felt that only their co-confessionalist szlachta could claim citizenship of the Commonwealth were thus a minority within their own church.

3.2.2: *Polak Katolik?*

The seventeenth century is traditionally understood as the age where the *polak-katolik* identity took shape. This labelled non-Catholics as disloyal to

¹⁴⁹ Bembus, *Pax non pax*, p.469.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter 1.1.2.

¹⁵¹ Tyniecki, *Vindicae pacis*, p.476, p.481.

¹⁵² 29 IV 1643 Synod, ABC 1505, p.21.

¹⁵³ Śmigiel minister Krzysztof Ostrodoła, *Apologia* (1598) in Ogonowski (ed.), *Mysł*, pp.451-458 (p.457).

the Commonwealth, since their churches were based abroad, often in rival states. Under Batory, the Jesuit Jakub Wujek gave thanks that the Mass had been celebrated in Poland for the last six hundred years, and under Zygmunt III, Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki praised God that the Sarmatian people were Catholic.¹⁵⁴ Funeral sermons upheld the model of a Catholic noble defending the true faith by founding churches and fighting heresy. “Love your fatherland... remember that it is the summit of all Christianity, Europe’s wall against the hideous and cruel pagans.”¹⁵⁵

The dangerous dissenter as foreign conspirator was a cliché of Catholic polemic; thus confessional adherence became a matter of state security. Orthodox Muscovy was an old enemy to the east, from whom Poland-Lithuania had reclaimed territory as far as Smolensk in 1611. Protestant Sweden became a threat in the seventeenth century, seeking control over Baltic trading posts, expanding rapidly in the 1620s, and attacking into the heart of the Commonwealth in the Deluge.¹⁵⁶ Andrzej Przyjemski, Castellan of Gniezno associated dissenters with military danger. “Tartars, Turks, Muscovites, Swedes, and Livonian neighbours all beating the drum... all those *religia haeretici* help each other”.¹⁵⁷ Bishop Szoldrski led a clerical protest to the Sejm in 1628 against the Czech Brethren influx, presenting them as blasphemers who disrupted public peace and order. “The expellees from Bohemia bring nothing good with them, such guests should not be allowed to be hosted, we ask this for the love of God.”¹⁵⁸

Yet for just as long, Catholics were also associated with foreign religious powers, most obviously Rome. Republican szlachta did not want the ‘absolutism’ of Catholic Spain or France in Poland. The Jesuits were resented by both Catholics and non-Catholics as newcomers encroaching on Commonwealth jurisdictions: “In a mere few decades... the new Jesuits are

¹⁵⁴ Jakub Wujek, *Dialysis, to jest rozwiązanie albo rozebranie Asserciy pana Jakuba Niemojewskiego z dowodami jego naprzeciw Jezuitom Poznańskim wydanych* (Poznań, 1580), p. Siv; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 26 VI 1621 (Kraków, 1624), p. Giv.

¹⁵⁵ Mateusz Bembus, *Pochwała pogrzebna sławnej pamięci A S Czarnkowskiego* (Kraków, 1628), p. 31, quote from p. 36; Felician Turski, *Kazanie na pogrzebie... Piotra Opalińskiego woj. poznańskiego* (Poznań, 1624), p. 19; Jacek Choryński, *Wieczność sławy... A Sędziwoja Czarnkowskiego* (Poznań, 1628), p. 2, p. 14, p. 18; Hieronim Lipczyński, *Archetyp wysokich i pańskich cnot – Stefan Grudziński* (n.p. 1640), p. 172; Jerzy Godziszewski, *Kazanie na pogrzebie Anny z Czarnkowskich Przyjemskiej* (Poznań, 1629), p. 3, p. 14, p. 26; Antoni Kobliński, *Kazanie na pogrzebie... Jana Opalińskiego starosty osieckiej* (n.p.d.) p. C.

¹⁵⁶ Frost, *The Northern Wars*, p. 311.

¹⁵⁷ Speech to the 1615 Sejm, in BC MS 352, pp. 534-535.

¹⁵⁸ Sejm diary 1628 in BC MS 354, p. 116.

replacing the ancient ministers, faithful servants of the Lord Jesus.”¹⁵⁹ The Holy League of Catholic monarchies was described as a warmongering pretext to attack non-Catholics; “The League aims to drown the evangelical religion in blood, start wars all over the world and engendering total destruction. Thanks to it, the popes are benefiting the worst enemies of Christendom... causing this most cruel war among Christians”.¹⁶⁰ Polemicists under Zygmunt encouraged Catholics to reactivate the League that Pope Pius V had founded in the 1570s and take up arms against the ‘pagan Turks’. The Jesuit Mateusz Bembus praised general starosta Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski for this and Paweł Działyński was also lauded for his fight “*pro religione, pro patria, pro libertate*”.¹⁶¹ Yet Poland was less keen to join the League than Rome hoped, especially in the 1590s when tensions with the Habsburg Empire were running high.¹⁶²

Confessional diversity thus defied categories of ethnic identity, making the simple correlation of Polishness and Catholicism unworkable. Confessions were not divided along national lines, but all included local and immigrant groups – ‘foreign’ Catholics and ‘Polish’ Protestants were common. There were German-speaking Catholics in Great Poland too.¹⁶³ Catholic immigrants came to Poland from Austria, Bohemia and Hungary during the Thirty Years’ War, notably 57 Jesuits after the defenestration of Prague in 1618, and 50 more in the 1640s, mostly from Bohemia.¹⁶⁴ Catholic refugees arrived when the Protestants were winning, in the mid-1620s and early 1630s.¹⁶⁵

The Polish Reformation was defined by the presence of Polish language literature, as its first historians noted.¹⁶⁶ German Lutheran works were translated into Polish in the 1550s, and disseminated from Königsberg in particular.¹⁶⁷ The Gdańsk translation of the Bible into Polish was completed in 1632 by Reformed ministers Daniel Mikołajewski and Jan Turnowski, with

¹⁵⁹ Tyniecki, *Respons*, quote from p.40, p.51; see also chapter 5.2.

¹⁶⁰ Anon. *Oliwa Pacifera missa...* (n.p. 1597) in Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.335-360 (pp.341-342).

¹⁶¹ Bembus, *Pochwała pogrzebna*, pp.29-36; Bęklewski, *Panegyricus nuptialis*, p.Bib.

¹⁶² Cardinal Caetani’s diary of a legate’s trip to Poland in 1596-7, BR MS 16, p.65.

¹⁶³ Maria Topolska, *Tolerancja etniczna i wyznaniowa w koronie polskiej i Rzeczypospolitej obojga narodów* (MS 1999), p.30.

¹⁶⁴ Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia*, p.103.

¹⁶⁵ Tomasz Jaworski, “Migracje ludnościowe na polskim pograniczu zachodnim w okresie i wyniku wojny 30letniej” in Kazimierz Bartkiewicz (ed.), *Wojna 30letnia na ziemiach nadodrzańskich* (Zielona Góra, 1993), pp.133-156 (p.138).

¹⁶⁶ Stanisław Sarnicki, *Annales Polonorum* (Kraków, 1585), p.391.

¹⁶⁷ Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation*, p.228, pp.255-265.

Leszczyński patronage.¹⁶⁸ The Reformed of Little Poland complained that they were unable to hold services in the Polish language. In appealing to the crown for this right, they sought the support of Great Poland, where dissenters used Polish freely.¹⁶⁹

Brethren and Socinians cultivated the German audience as well as the Polish one. Czech Brethren visitations also asked Germans to serve in 1612, and encouraged youth to learn German.¹⁷⁰ The Socinian minister Schmalz wrote the introduction to the German Socinian Catechism, and Wolzogen translated Socinian works into German.¹⁷¹ Great Poland's Lutherans were mostly, but not exclusively, German-speaking. They kept earlier synod records in Latin, later in German, though these were translated into Polish and Lutheran seminary education was also in Polish.¹⁷²

In Great Poland, immigrant Czech and German speakers mixed with local Polish speakers, and church structures reflected this. Dissenters made a great effort to achieve integration by multilingual synods, publications and services. This was needed - Great Poland's Reformed were particularly mixed in origin. Scottish settlers in Great Poland included 22 traders in Poznań in 1605.¹⁷³ The Scots were a significant minority in Czech Brethren congregations.¹⁷⁴ The Dutch buried two Brethren ministers in 1645.¹⁷⁵ Socinian Walentyn Schmalz stressed the internationality of his church; "we respect and protect honourable and reputable persons, who are free to live where they will - in their own country, or a foreign one."¹⁷⁶

Both Czech Brethren and Lutherans published in Polish and had Polish congregations.¹⁷⁷ The Czech Brethren had become assimilated into Polish society in the sixteenth century, and found adherents among the leading

¹⁶⁸ Topolski (ed.), *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, p.589; Kneifel, *Die Evangelisch-Augsburgischen*, p.79.

¹⁶⁹ Churches of Little Poland to Brethren minister Marcin Gertrich, 26 VIII 1639 in ABC 746.

¹⁷⁰ Visitation of November 1612 to Chocz in ABC 1704, p.3.

¹⁷¹ *Catechismus der Gemeinde der Leute, die da im Königreich Poln, und im Gross frstenthumb Litauen... affirmiren...* (Raków, 1608). See Wolzogen's WPSB entry.

¹⁷² 1607 synod in Latin, 1645 synods in German, 1647 Synod of Bojanowo; Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.16, p.26, p.129, p.133.

¹⁷³ Jan Sembrzycki, *Die polnischen Reformierten und Unitarier in Preussen* (Königsberg, 1893), p.43.

¹⁷⁴ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.59.

¹⁷⁵ BR MS 19, p.145.

¹⁷⁶ Walentyn Schmalz, *Odpis na 2 paskwiluse, których niestusznie aryyny zową od ewanjelików* (Raków, 1619) in Lech Szczucki (ed.), *Cztery broszury polemiczne z początku XVII w.* (Warszawa, 1958), pp.111-141 (p.137).

¹⁷⁷ Tazbir, *Reformacja*, p.240.

regional nobility, easing the entry of new immigrants in the seventeenth century. Their catechism was published in Polish, German and Latin in 1609, and their 1638 *cancional* in Polish and German. They decided that a Latin blessing was allowed even if the service was in German – after accepting a converted Catholic priest as a minister, in the context of Silesian immigration.¹⁷⁸ The Czech Brethren published a thousand copies of their catechism in Polish. They started publishing in Leszno in 1631, increasingly in Polish, including secular works like Krzysztof Opaliński's *Satyry*.¹⁷⁹ They encouraged ministers to learn Polish; Minister Dares was given a Polish Bible to help him improve.¹⁸⁰ Comenius himself translated poetry into Polish and produced language learning manuals.

Church leaders did not only use different languages to address potential converts; they knew that their congregations lived in a multiethnic reality. The need for multilingual worship services and leaders indicates how much different linguistic groups interacted at the grassroots level. The push for multilingual ministers came from secular elders, who were responsible for both Polish and German speakers.¹⁸¹ The Czech Brethren used more than one language in the same service; minister Gratian's funeral was conducted in Polish in the church and the body was attended to in German by another minister, while the preaching at minister Rybiński's funeral was also bilingual.¹⁸² There were multilingual congregations, such as the Socinian community at Śmigiel.¹⁸³ More often, churches had multiple congregations or ministers, as the Brethren and Lutherans did in Poznań.¹⁸⁴ Confessional and ethnic lines were not clearly drawn yet; despite increasing immigrant numbers, the Polish language was important for all dissenter churches in Great Poland.

Under the first two Wazas, dissenters were not perceived as aliens; confession was not automatically associated with ethnicity, nor was Polish citizenship yet

¹⁷⁸ Ostroróg synod 14 V 1609, ABC 1457, p.10; Leszno synod, 16 XI 1609, ABC 1459, p.12; Leszno synod 14 X 1638, ABC 1502, p.4; Ostroróg synod 13 IV 1633, ABC 1490, p.71.

¹⁷⁹ Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów*, p.326, p.340, p.342, p.349, p.375; Lipnik synod IX 1608, ABC 1455, p.5; Poznań synod of 11 III 1610 in ABC 1589, p.2.

¹⁸⁰ Leszno synod 6 VI 1645, ABC 1510, p.11.

¹⁸¹ Jan Ossowski, *sędzia ziemskie* of Wschowa, to the Koźminek synod 23 VIII 1607, ABC 1452 p.6; calls for a German-speaking preacher for Poznań and German teachers at the Leszno school; Poznań synods of 29 VI 1589, ABC 1430, p.20 and 28 V 1601, ABC 1446, p.7.

¹⁸² Leszno synods of 16 III 1629, ABC 1478, p.6 and 14 X 1638, ABC 1502, p.1.

¹⁸³ Luckfiel, "Der Sozinianismus", pp.168-169.

¹⁸⁴ Łukaszewicz, *Wiadomość*, p.83, p.167; Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.56.

synonymous with Catholic religion. Catholics were as likely as dissenters to be accused of international conspiracy against the Commonwealth, equally unjustly, as chapter four will show. Members of all churches made a remarkable effort to learn each other's languages and integrate in Great Poland. Only at the turn of the eighteenth century, when the principle of pluralism was replaced with the *polak-katolik* ideal, did the Commonwealth of diverse peoples and confessions begin to unravel.¹⁸⁵ Indeed it was only after partition that Polishness shifted permanently away from a *szlachta* identity to a Catholic one.¹⁸⁶

The Polish Catholic Church was thus restrained in imposing its confession 'from above', remaining permeable to other church and secular influences. It compromised with the Orthodox in the Union of Brześć in 1596, with the *szlachta* in the *compositio* settlement of 1635, both of which Rome accepted, and with the vernacular Bible in between those dates, despite the official Tridentine ban on such translations. From 1573 Polish Catholicism had to accept liberty of conscience for dissenters in practice, if not in theory. Efforts to implement the reforms of Trent were limited, tailing off in the 1630s in the face of deep-rooted resistance to the interference of Rome and new orders, particularly the Jesuits. So the Polish Church, adapting to the Commonwealth reality, embraced a Catholic Reformation without centralised authority, just as the crown acknowledged *szlachta* authority in a mixed government. The following chapters will show how the status of the Catholic Church within the Polish state changed under Zygmunt and Władysław, from times of crisis, as in the Rokosz of Sandomierz discussed in chapter four, to times of stability as in the conclusion of the *compositio* analysed in chapter five. Catholic renewal, in which traditional piety and conciliarist wariness of Papal power were as important as reforming zeal, was only possible in alliance with the *szlachta*, and Catholic *szlachta* politically acknowledged and supported dissenting churches.

¹⁸⁵ Müller, "Protestant Confessionalisation" pp.262ff., pp.280-281; Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*, pp.131-132, pp.217-220; Robert Frost, "Confessionalisation and the Army in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1550-1667" in Bahlcke (ed.), *Konfessionalisierung*, pp.139-160 (pp.155ff.).

¹⁸⁶ Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland 1772, 1793, 1795* (London, 1999), pp.2-8.

3.3: Successful Reformations?

All reformations needed to enforce correct belief and moral discipline for their confession to succeed; Wolfgang Reinhard goes so far as to describe confessionalisation as “a variation of social discipline”.¹⁸⁷ The following analysis of these tools of confessionalisation – the enforcement of a confessional line through censorship, education and church synods – followed by a study of the impact of church returns to Catholicism and new church building will complete the picture of confessional change in Great Poland under the first two Wazas.

The Warsaw Confederation which defined all szlachta as equals, regardless of which church they chose, had direct implications for the non-noble population. Szlachta acted as enforcers of social discipline, through the Sejm as censors and through synods, as Catholic bishops and as dissenter elders. The nobility had most educational opportunities as students and were also patrons of schools in Great Poland, through which confessional attitudes were passed on to the next generation. Congregations were dependent on noble patronage for their survival. The szlachta were capable of using their influence to impose their confession on others, but many chose not to, whether they simply allowed different denominations to co-exist or actively supported members of other churches on their estates.

3.3.1: Social Discipline and Education

Social discipline was an essential element of confessionalisation, used to implement all reformations via synods, visitations and censorship or education. All this activity had the potential to extend the long arm of the state. A good working definition of social discipline in an Eastern European context is “a conscious effort at changing society’s norms, behaviour and mental culture from above.” This is different from social control, which reinforces the traditional rules by which a society or community lives.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Reinhard (ed.), *Katholische Konfessionalisierung*, p.421.

¹⁸⁸ Lars Behrisch, “Social Discipline in Early Modern Russia” in Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Institutionen, Instrumente und Akteure sozialer Kontrolle und Disziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Frankfurt, 1999), pp.225-357 (p.325).

Where churches were successful in imposing their denominational norms, they gave their faithful less freedom to tolerate confessional difference.

In the *Rzeczpospolita*, social discipline was not imposed effectively by the secular powers; crown and szlachta did little to support censorship and synods, and countered confessional dogmatism in education. Discipline included censorship; all churches had censors to enforce confessional conformity, and we will see that these were more effective than the rarely-used royal censor and that of the Kraków Academy.¹⁸⁹ All censors were relatively non-interventionist, and particularly inactive in Great Poland.¹⁹⁰ Catholics had the advantage of longer established institutional structures, which could support the *Index* and Inquisition.¹⁹¹ Yet neither of these had much impact on Poland; social discipline remained the internal preserve of the churches and permeability between confessions made their task difficult.

Churches fought over who had the right to discipline at all. The Catholic Church, seeing itself as the universal spiritual authority, attempted to judge dissenters as heretics worse even than the Jews, who at least did not attempt to convert others from the Roman Church.¹⁹² Dissenters fiercely denied the label 'heretic' since it implied that Catholicism was the true norm. Non-Catholics sought to prove their legitimacy as Christians with their own ecclesial authority, for example at the collective Protestant Synod of Toruń in 1595.¹⁹³ Jonasz Schlichting's defence of the Socinians is a good illustration of how seriously dissenters took charges of heresy, knowing that if they were seen as outsiders from Christendom they would not be included as citizens of the Commonwealth. He asks, "What am I, if not a Christian, since I believe in Jesus and profess that he is the Christ?" and goes on to prove that he is neither Jewish, Muslim nor a pagan.¹⁹⁴

Dissenters also sought to prove the validity of their ministers as spiritual authorities. The debate on ministerial status was heated, as it included jurisdiction over property as well as souls. As Archbishop Karnkowski stated,

¹⁸⁹ Urszula Augustyniak, *Informacja i propaganda w Polsce za Zygmunta III* (Warszawa, 1991), p.101.

¹⁹⁰ Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce* (Warszawa, 1997), p.15, pp.19-20, p.24, p.173.

¹⁹¹ Reinhard (ed.), *Katholische Konfessionalisierung*, p.434, pp.439ff.

¹⁹² *Obrona rozsądku o niedopuszczaniu budowania hereetyckiego zboru w Poznaniu na respons przeciwko temu wydany* (Poznań, 1616) p.39, p.56.

¹⁹³ BR MS 46, pp.32-42.

¹⁹⁴ Schlichting, *List apologetyczny*, pp.657ff, quote from p.661.

only the Catholic clergy were valid ministers. The Poznań Jesuit Bembus presented the dissenters as wolves in sheep's clothing; "The snake is there, hidden among the weeds... they want to build their own churches everywhere... to take the parish livings from ministers and use them for themselves or their ministers".¹⁹⁵ His colleague Marcin Łaszcz argued that dissenter clergy were not ministers at all; nobody could officiate at the Eucharist without the authority of the Catholic Church behind them; otherwise – heaven forbid! – even women could become ministers.¹⁹⁶ The key Protestant response to this was Daniel Mikołajewski's debate with a Poznań Jesuit, Marcin Śmiglecki, at the time of the general synod at Wilno in 1599. Mikołajewski defended the case for a Protestant church and clergy independent of papal authority. Others in Great Poland, such as the Brethren minister Martin Gertrich, contributed to his defence.¹⁹⁷

The Catholic hierarchy sought to bring its undisputed flock in line with post-Tridentine discipline; Archbishop Wojciech Baranowski was one of many to stress the importance of visitations to enforce a moral life and the basics of faith at parish level.¹⁹⁸ The archdiocese asked for papal understanding; it would be hard to adapt the reforms of Trent to their province, due to differences in litany and processions, though they tried to set up visitations and published questions to be asked by visitors.¹⁹⁹ All parishes suffered from a shortage of books, often even lacking a missal, catechism, or book for recording baptisms; many priests were anyway illiterate, so phasing out editions published before Trent seemed overly ambitious.²⁰⁰ Synods condemned clergy with concubines and the overzealous use of exorcism by some priests, who saw demons everywhere.²⁰¹ Archbishop Maciejowski

¹⁹⁵ Stanisław Karnkowski, *Kazanie o dwoiakim kościele chrześcijańskim* (Kraków, 1596), p.96; Bembus, *Pax non pax*, p.467.

¹⁹⁶ Marcin Łaszcz, *Wieczera ewangelika* (Wilno, 1594), p.13, p.60.

¹⁹⁷ Marcin Gertrich, *Protestacja przeciwko cutubie tych, co za przyczynę dysputacyej ks. M Śmigleckiego z ks. D Mikołajewskim przed zwyestwem triumfują* (Wilno, 1599); Paweł Wołłowicz, *Dysputacja wileńska, która miał X. M Śmiglecki z X. D Mikołajewskim de primatu Petra o jednej widomej głowie kościoła bożego* (Toruń, 1599); Martinus Ianicius, *Rozprawa o zwierchności Biskupa Rzymskiego w dysputacji wileńskiej* (Kraków, 1599); Marcin Zagiel, *Cenzura dysputacji wileńskiej* (Wilno, 1600).

¹⁹⁸ Bernard Maciejowski, *Concilium provinciale regni Poloniae Piotrków 1607* (Kraków, 1609), pp.3-4; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 13 XI 1634* (Kraków, 1636), pp.271-272.

¹⁹⁹ *Constitutiones synodorum Metropol. Eccles. Gnesnensis* (Kraków, 1630), pp.350-353; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 10 V 1628* (Kraków, 1630), pp.Ciiff.

²⁰⁰ *Constitutiones synodis diocessana Gnesnensis 29 III 1593* (Poznań, 1593), p.37, p.43; *Constitutiones synodis archidiocessana Gnesnensis 13 IX 1620* (Kraków, 1621), p.Giiib, p.Hiv.

²⁰¹ *Constitutiones synodis diocessana Gnesnensis 29 III 1593* (Poznań, 1593), pp.45ff.; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 8 XI 1643* (Warszawa, 1646), pp.21-22.

attacked superstitious use of candles and incense; the people should not perform ceremonies, such as processions round the font, without a priest.²⁰²

The Catholic Church resorted to secular courts as a means of social disciplining, to manage both land and souls under their care. One case was that of the labourer Stanisław Zygmuncik, who had always farmed badly, but one day refused to work for his priest, telling him he was a whoreson (*skurwasyn*) and shooting his pistol in the air. He caused nearly 2000 złoty worth of damage to the priest's farm.²⁰³ Lay courts were even used for cases of a religious nature, as a 1632 case shows; one Matthias Frantz was accused by his priest of blasphemy towards saints and a statue of the Virgin. The Wałcz citizens who broke into the church and parish priest's house had to be brought to justice in the *gród* court, though the crime was contempt of the Catholic Church.²⁰⁴ The church needed a secular court to deal with the public order aspect. Both Catholic and Protestant szlachta were wary of the Roman Church's use of secular courts, as the Lublin Tribunal case (chapter one) and the *compositio* settlement (chapter five) show.

Commonwealth Catholics did not censor very effectively within their own church, so their ability to place publishing restrictions on other confessions would also be limited. The Catholic *Index* was printed in Polish in three editions of 1603, 1604 and 1617, whereafter the Polish edition was no longer updated. The *Index* forbade vernacular translations of the Bible, while a Polish Catholic edition existed for decades. Orders had their own presses and censors, notably the Jesuits, who could only publish with their General's approval, and co-operated with the bishops in censoring books.²⁰⁵ The Jesuits had to wait a long time to set up publishing activity in Great Poland however; they had a printing press in Kalisz from 1632 and in Poznań only from 1677.²⁰⁶ The Trent resolutions on censorship were also approved by the Gniezno diocese, which frequently condemned heretical books, their use in libraries and schools, and reiterated that synod permission was needed for

²⁰² Maciejowski's sermon at the 1607 synod, reprinted in *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), pp. Fivff.

²⁰³ 1632, Kościół Gr.71 (1630-3), pp.401ff.

²⁰⁴ 1632, Poznań Gr.677 (1631-2) pp.1086-1087; 1645, Wałcz Gr. 26 (1639-45) p.68, pp.717ff.

²⁰⁵ Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura*, p.141, pp.163ff, p.238.

²⁰⁶ Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie", p.692.

publication.²⁰⁷ Bishops acted as censors, requiring books regular clergy to name themselves as authors to make them accountable for their work, but without much success. Andrzej Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań, took monastic orders to task for publishing without his approval.²⁰⁸

Nobles including Jan Ostroróg, the Palatine of Poznań, objected to Catholic censorship; he was unhappy with the censor's alterations to his letter to his sons (1615), to which praise of the Jesuits was added.²⁰⁹ Publishing abroad was a well-trodden route to secure publication. The secular censors of crown and Sejm were particularly inactive, almost never intervening preemptively to prevent publication. Zygmunt III and Władysław IV did no more than issue a few decrees, the father against Orthodox polemic against the Brześć Union and an antisemitic pamphlet and the son against one offending the royal majesty. The Sejm increasingly took responsibility for censorship; the only major cases are those of the Socinian Schlichting and the Raków press, which was the only printer to be closed in our period.²¹⁰ The low level of censorship allowed different theological opinions to circulate; Crown and Sejm were not supporting the Catholic Reformation through controlling printed matter.

Dissenters tried to exercise similar controls to Catholics, using the same disciplinary measures. Great Poland's signatory churches of the Sandomierz Consensus were worried about the influence of the Roman Church on their faithful. "Papist ceremonies and rituals should be put aside and definitely dropped, such as Exorcism, blasphemy with water, images, holy relics, superstitious use of blessed elements, blessing of herbs, flags, gold and silver crosses etc."²¹¹ The joint synod at Toruń set up a procedure for theological and moral discipline, through district synods, superintendents and the general synod, and set a pattern for visitations to local congregations.²¹² The Commonwealth synod of 1634 regulated pastors' movement between

²⁰⁷ At the Łowicz synod of 13 X 1620, see Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae V* p.226; see also *Constitutiones et decreta synodis Gnesnensis provinciae 1589* (Praga, 1590), p.72; *Constitutiones synodorum Metropol. Eccles. Gnesnensis* (Kraków, 1630), pp.89-91, p.258, p.365; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 13 XI 1634* (Kraków, 1636), p.273, p.365; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 8 XI 1643* (Warszawa, 1646), pp.38-39.

²⁰⁸ *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), p.Liib, p.Liib.

²⁰⁹ Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, pp.215-216.

²¹⁰ Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura*, pp.43ff, pp.63ff, pp.229-230, p.238; see chapter 1.2.1.

²¹¹ *Consensus*, p.26.

²¹² *Acta et Conclusiones Synodi Generalis Toruniensis 1595* in *Corpus et synagme confessorum fidei* (Geneva, 1654), pp.246-248.

parishes.²¹³ Lutherans conducted visitations through secular elders.²¹⁴ They called synods on heresy and corrupt teaching.²¹⁵

Since their church was smaller, Czech Brethren parishes were controlled by individual elders rather than the self-governing districts of Little Poland's and Lithuania's Reformed. Though there were separate szlachta synods from 1609, these were held irregularly. From 1637 it was accepted that they send representatives to the main Brethren synods instead. Calvinist szlachta had more control of church government than their Czech Brethren counterparts, less hampered by ministerial interference.²¹⁶ The Brethren disciplined ministers for serving without church authorisation – such as Marcin Plort in 1640s Orzeszkowo. They attended to the most minor details; the bell should be rung before services and the preaching should not be too long.²¹⁷

Dissenter censorship was a slow, collaborative process of editing, involving authors as ministers among equals. A joint synod in 1578 ruled that books must be approved by the superintendent before publication.²¹⁸ Even Comenius was warned not to publish without synod approval, which offended him greatly.²¹⁹ The Socinian synod controlled theological publications including Völkel's *De vera religione*; the corrections took twelve years. Socinian synods were careful to check all their theological works, such as the posthumously published work of Crell. Responses to polemic attacks were read by other ministers before publication.²²⁰ Polish Lutheran synods were barely interested in censorship; the 1607 synod limited hymn-singing to those in Luther's and the Polish Toruń *cancional*, but otherwise the issue did not arise.²²¹

Censorship by synods reflects the extent to which confessions influenced each other – it was difficult to stop them from using each other's theological works

²¹³ Włodawa synod of 22 IX 1634, ABC 2541, p.12.

²¹⁴ 1607 synod in Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.126.

²¹⁵ For example superintendent Gliczner's call for a general synod of 2 II 1591 in BK MS 1539, nr.1.

²¹⁶ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.146-165.

²¹⁷ Visitation to Ostroróg, 10 IX 1649 in ABC 1329; visitations to Orzeszkowo of 1644 and 26 II 1645 in ABC 1709. A further visitation to Orzeszkowo of 11 III 1647 in ABC 1710 affirms his office. Visitation of November 1612 to Marszewo in ABC 1704, p.1.

²¹⁸ *Consensus in fide et Religione Christiana inter ecclesias maioris et minoris Poloniae 1570* (Toruń, 1586), p.59.

²¹⁹ Leszno synod of 1634 in BR MS 48, p.40b.

²²⁰ Synods of 1617-29 in Szczotka, "Synody arian", pp.66ff., p.75, p.77.

²²¹ Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.128.

in their churches and schools. The Lutheran synod in 1651 lamented the continued influence of Calvinism on szlachta patrons.²²² Czech Brethren schools used Socinian books, to their ministers' dismay.²²³ The Brethren synod also warned ministers and congregations against using Lutheran books.²²⁴ The Brethren faithful absorbed Catholic beliefs, which required serious intervention by sponsors and ministers. Krystyna Poniatowska (1610-1644) was convulsed by visions of the Virgin Mary; she was examined by Rafał Leszczyński's doctor who found her to be inauthentic. The synod denied the validity of her visions, despite the claims made by her followers and some patron support.²²⁵ Thus dissenter churches, like Catholic ones, sought to ensure denominational uniformity, but had to face the fact that their faithful were in contact with members of other churches; confessional discipline was not easy to enforce in any of the churches in Great Poland.

All churches saw the importance of teaching for defining denominations, and thus sought to provide their own schools to educate youth along the correct confessional lines. Non-Catholics attending Catholic institutions often did convert. Yet in Great Poland, education also furthered confessional plurality; Catholics attended non-Catholic institutions, strengthening their ties with dissenters, and Protestants also studied alongside Catholics without converting.

Schooling was crucial in forming faith loyalties; youth were sent to university abroad to reinforce this process. Only a minority of szlachta from Poznań and Kalisz could afford to attend university. From 1587-1652, these included 22 (63%) of greater Senators and 12 (24%) of *sędziowie ziemscy*.²²⁶ The most popular universities for szlachta from Great Poland were neighbouring Frankfurt/Oder, where local patrons the Kościelieckis and Górkas studied, Leipzig and Wittenberg: all these were Lutheran institutions. The Brethren Andrzej Leszczyński, his sons including Rafał and Rafał's sons all went to Basel, continuing the Reformed family tradition.²²⁷ Of the regional szlachta

²²² Synod at Bojanowo, 21 XI 1651 in Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.136.

²²³ January 1609 entry in Marcin Gertrich's diary 1608-16 in ABC 1607, p.10.

²²⁴ Leszno synod 28 VI 1632, ABC 1487, p.2; also at the Leszno synod 8 V 1637, ABC 1499, p.33.

²²⁵ Leszno convocation, 16 III 1629 in Maria Sipayłło (ed.), *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce t.4* (Warszawa, 1997), pp.313-4, p.319.

²²⁶ Opaliński, *Elita władzy*, p.55.

²²⁷ Maria Sipayłło, "Stosunki Leszczyńskich z Uniwersytetem bazylejskim" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 8 (1963), pp.109-124.

attending German universities, just 24% studied at Catholic institutions such as Ingolstadt.²²⁸ Brothers Jan and Mateusz Smogulecki studied at Freiburg in 1625. Jan went on to Padua and Rome, becoming a Jesuit missionary in China.²²⁹ Other Catholic universities included Vienna, Strasbourg, where Jan Ostroróg studied, and Padua, where general starosta Wacław Leszczyński went – their studies apparently instrumental in their reconversion to the Roman faith.²³⁰

Szlachta from different churches grew personally closer and learnt more about other confessions by attending each other's institutions. Archbishop Karnkowski attended Wittenberg University.²³¹ His studies in the Lutheran heartland would have made it easier for him to ally with Great Poland's Lutheran leader, Stanisław Górka, against Zygmunt's accession.²³² Władysław Przyjemski, Under Chamberlain of Kalisz from 1617, studied at Padua without converting from his Czech Brethren faith. The later Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl, Łukasz Kościeliecki, as well as Czech Brethren Jan Rozdrażewski, Castellan of Poznań, Rafał Leszczyński's sons Andrzej and Rafał all studied at Lutheran Frankfurt/Oder.²³³ This university nearest to Great Poland had the most confessionally mixed intake, since a fifth of the province's nobility studied there. Non-Catholics from other provinces attended Catholic universities across Europe. Throughout the reigns of Zygmunt and Władysław there are examples of Commonwealth Protestants, mainly but not exclusively from Royal Prussia, studying in Catholic universities in Italy, France and the German lands, and in some cases, especially at Padua, they gained doctorates there.²³⁴

Dissenters in Great Poland benefited from the proximity of Protestant universities. In their home region, they also had their own schools. Jan

²²⁸ For the period of 1500 to 1650; see Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, pp.158-159.

²²⁹ Banach, "Konwersje protestantów", pp.24-27; Dorota Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio Acedemica: Studia młodzieży polskiej na akademikach i uniwersytetach niemieckich XI i I połowy XVII w.* (Poznań, 1996), pp.25-27, p.78, p.94, p.101.

²³⁰ See their PSB entries.

²³¹ Jerzy Dorobisz and Wacław Kaczorowski, "Sieradzanie – arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy za panowanie Wazów 1587-1668" in Jerzy Strzelczyk (ed.), *1000 lat archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej* (Gniezno, 2000), pp.263-277 (p.277).

²³² See chapter 4.1.1 on this alliance.

²³³ See their PSB entries.

²³⁴ Marcin Chachaj, "Protestanci polscy na studiach w katolickich uniwersytetach zagranicznych w latach 1564-1660" in *Res historica* 10 (2000), pp.189-202.

Ostroróg funded a Czech Brethren institution at Koźminek.²³⁵ Brethren seminaries were at Leszno, Ostroróg and Toruń.²³⁶ Reformed Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz and elder Andrzej Górka, Castellan of Międzyrzecz, patronised Lutheran schools.²³⁷

From 1628 the pedagogical reformer Comenius lived in Leszno; his ideas were first tested here. The seventeenth century “new science” reached Great Poland through the Czech Brethren. Rafał Leszczyński studied under Galileo Galilei in Padua and returned receptive to new ideas. Rafał supported the Leszno Gymnasium under Comenius’s direction from the 1620s, enabling the scholar to work on his *Didactica magna* (published 1658) and planning to print it. He funded places for 12 youths at the Gymnasium, and sponsored the education of key ministers such as Andrzej Węgieński, the first historian of the Polish Reformation. Apart from Leszczyński, Jan Schlichting was another patron of the school.²³⁸

Within Great Poland Jesuit education was particularly important in furthering the reforms of Trent, as discussed above, and their schools were popular among the szlachta. Yet bishops, senators and sejm envoys, defended the Commonwealth tradition of Catholic academies as a scholarly alternative. In a period when education was exploited for social control by all Reformations, Great Poland’s leaders saw the value of Comenius’s new methods beyond such indoctrination. The Catholic Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, founded a gymnasium at Sieraków in the 1640s, the only school beside Leszno to be founded on Comenius’s educational method. He condemned Polish academics for not valuing *eruditio* enough: “*tu loquentiae multum, saepentiae parum*”. Krzysztof first contacted Comenius over the publication of his *Satyry* (1650) on the Leszno press and this led to a flourishing correspondence between them.²³⁹ The school opened in 1650 surviving till the Deluge. Krzysztof distanced himself from Jesuit teaching methods, preferring the school to be

²³⁵ Schlichting donates 500 złoty to the Leszno school in 1624, ABC 1776; Ostroróg donates 100 złoty to the rector of Koźminek and 40 złoty annually thereafter, Ostroróg synod 9 VI 1608, ABC 1454, p.17.

²³⁶ Leszno synod 16 III 1629, ABC 1478, p.7.

²³⁷ Górka founded a school and church at Szczepleszyn; Grudziński allowed a school and church at Swarzędz; see their PSB entries.

²³⁸ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.157; Leszczyński takes care of 9000 złoty for Leszno and other dissenter schools, promising that the money will be kept by Czech Brethren family members if his descendants convert. The money was distributed at 500 złoty p.a.; agreement of 6 III 1629 in ABC 2530, pp.41-42.

²³⁹ Opaliński, *Satyry*, p.22, pp.59-62.

staffed by members of the Kraków Academy.²⁴⁰ Local tolerant Catholic nobles like Hieronim Radomicki, Palatine of Inowrocław, sent their sons to Krzysztof's school.²⁴¹

Another Palatine of Poznań and tolerant Catholic, Jan Ostroróg, also rejected the Jesuit system, but to favour traditional teaching over new approaches. Like Opaliński, Ostroróg argued that the Jesuits would not have prepared his sons well for public service.²⁴² Ostroróg advocated the classical humanist programme of his friend Jan Zamoyski (d.1605), sending his sons to Zamoyski's Academy under the tutorship of renowned poet Szymon Szymonowic. While the Zamoyski Academy was Catholic, it shunned rigorous confessionalism. Dissenters remained a percentage of students from its foundation in 1595 to its closure in 1784; these were mostly of the Eastern Rite, including future Metropolitans of Kiev for both churches (Uniate Mikołaj Jan Korsak, immatriculated 1608, and Orthodox Sylwester Kossów, 1628). Protestants also attended, without converting, along with the occasional Armenian and converted Jew.²⁴³

Education in Great Poland as much strengthened as weakened church relations. While the Jesuits were increasingly important educators, there were alternatives, as leading palatines patronised both Catholics and non-Catholics. All churches had their own schools within the province and access to universities abroad – Protestant institutions were closest by – offering a variety of confessional input. This was shared among the szlachta, as members of all churches, including future bishops and archbishops, attended each other's establishments and collaborated to develop educational methods to meet their needs. Regional leaders chose co-operation over confessional exclusivity, limiting the reach of the reformations through schooling in Great Poland.

Like education, social discipline, including synods, visitations and censorship, was deployed by all confessions, but its impact was limited, coming up against confessional pluralism at the grass roots. There were still important

²⁴⁰ letter of 10 V 1648 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.411.

²⁴¹ See his PSB entry.

²⁴² Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, pp.36ff., pp.189ff.

²⁴³ Henryk Gmiterek, "Ze studiów nad strukturą wyznaniową młodzieży Akademii Zamojskiej (1595-1784)" in *Res historica* 10 (2000), pp.221-231.

differences as to the level of lay participation in church decision-making; this was greater in dissenter confessions, extending to moral discipline in the Lutheran Church, while the Catholic Church tried to use secular courts, though all confessions had influential noble patrons. These szlachta were the greatest guarantors of confessional pluralism, as they patronised not only schools but also churches on their lands.

3.3.2: Church Returns and Immigration

The fate of individual parishes shows how confessional change was happening on the ground in Great Poland; szlachta patronage was essential to their survival. Without political support for the Protestant churches, a return to Catholicism seemed inevitable by the 1610s, according to the leading Reformation historians of Poland-Lithuania. “It was clear that the Reformation in Poland had failed when the king decided to back Catholicism”, argues Korolko – thus under Zygmunt III, Protestant decline was just a question of time.²⁴⁴ Tazbir sees the nobility following the royal lead, failing to support dissenters when it was no longer to their political advantage.²⁴⁵ Yet chapter two has shown that dissenter szlachta remained politically influential into the mid-seventeenth century. While reconversions gathered pace, nobles – including Catholics – could still be found to support non-Catholics on their estates. Of course a parish worshipping in a noble palace did not have the long-term security of one which had its own church, but new churches were also built. Under Władysław IV dissenter communities recovered, boosted by immigration, and survived for longer than has traditionally been thought.

Zygmunt III encouraged the return of dissenter church property to the original Catholic owners. The Catholic Church began campaigning to get its buildings back under Stefan Batory; Zygmunt promoted this on his lands. Zygmunt knew he could only promote Catholicism once his rule was secure; after half a decade, he told the Pope that having achieved this, he was ready to improve clerical education and destroy heresy.²⁴⁶ In Great Poland, Catholics

²⁴⁴ Korolko, “Pogranicze Sarmatyzmów”, p.137.

²⁴⁵ Tazbir, “Znaczenie XVII w.” p.221.

²⁴⁶ Zygmunt III to Pope Clement VIII, 3 VIII 1602, in BR MS 211, p.87.

reclaimed 72 churches under Zygmunt and nine under Władysław, who did not share his father's enthusiasm.²⁴⁷

Catholicism had the advantage of more established structures, privileges and material wealth, at home and abroad. Catholic synods repeatedly protested about churches 'occupied by heretics'.²⁴⁸ A few Lutheran churches were closed by episcopal intervention.²⁴⁹ Yet Catholic leaders privately compromised with the confessional plurality they publicly criticised. Zygmunt III's first Bishop of Poznań, Łukasz Kościelecki, closed a 'heretical' printing press but could not afford to exclude dissenter tenants from his lands.²⁵⁰

The Catholic hierarchy was part of government in the way that dissenter clergy were not. Catholic bishops sat in the Senate and Catholic clergy were on the Crown Tribunal, for which they were paid, though they did not always turn up.²⁵¹ The Crown Tribunal ruled the return of both Lutheran and Reformed churches in Great Poland to their original Catholic owners. Both of those mentioned in Henryk Mercyng's study survived. In 1633 the Lutheran patron Stefan Bojanowski, deputy Starosta of Poznań moved the Gołaszyn parish to Bojanowo Nowe, which became the regional Lutheran centre. After their Reformed church closed in 1638, the Chobianice congregation met in patron Adam Miękicki's castle for another four years.²⁵²

Dissenters needed churches to worship in, and these were only secure with noble patrons to provide for these on their estates. The reconversion of dissenter nobles had a serious impact, meaning that dissenters lost half their churches, mostly under Zygmunt III. Early dissenter foundations benefited from tithes, though patrons sometimes kept them; in contrast urban parishes were dependent on collections.²⁵³ Most Czech Brethren churches and livings were former Catholic ones.²⁵⁴ So where they did not have tithes, they were

²⁴⁷ Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.22-43.

²⁴⁸ *Constitutiones et decreta synodis Gnesnensis provinciae 1589* (Praga, 1590), p.98; *Constitutiones synodis diocesana Gnesnensis 29 III 1593* (Poznań, 1593), p.9. Letter from Rome on this, *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), p.M3b, p.M4.

²⁴⁹ Bishop Andrzej Opaliński closed Wałcz in 1610, see his PSB entry; the Bishop of Cujavia closed Radziejów in 1615, Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.38.

²⁵⁰ See his PSB entry.

²⁵¹ *Constitutiones synodis archidiocesana Gnesnensis 13 IX 1620* (Kraków, 1621), p.G3; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesnensis provinciae 22 VI 1628* (Kraków, 1641), p.N.

²⁵² Miękicki to Brethren minister Jan Rybiński, 16 X 1638 and 9 I 1638 in BR MS 62, p.106, p.109; Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.26.

²⁵³ Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy*, pp.50-52.

²⁵⁴ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.65, p.76.

dependent on secular patrons. Churches were often returned to Catholics due to the death of a patron. Ten churches converted to Catholicism with their patron under Zygmunt, and three under his son.²⁵⁵ Another factor was the Deluge, which caused the destruction of dissenter communities in Zbąszyn, Dębica (1656), Karmin, Skwierczyna (1657), and Ostroróg (1660).

Some nobles joined the post-Tridentine effort to expand the Catholic Church, be it through new foundations or at the expense of dissenters. New Catholic foundations were rarely made by the crown, bishops or orders, but rather by the szlachta, particularly the richest elite, who provided two thirds of the patronage for religious orders in seventeenth century Poland. Patrons sought not only spiritual reward, but also prestige, as their name would be remembered.²⁵⁶ Archbishops of Gniezno were often founders of new churches; Maciej Łubieński restored his Cathedral and founded dozens of churches while Stanisław Karnkowski founded the Kalisz Jesuit College and church. Leading szlachta erected more than one church, including Jan Opaliński (1581-1637) and his brother Piotr (1587-1624), both Palatines of Poznań. Jan founded a monastery at his new town of Zabyszyń and a new church in Grodzisk, while Piotr founded a monastery in Sieraków. They also expelled dissenters from their estates. In this the Opalińskis followed both the Czarnkowskis, whose takeover of Lutheran Górka estates were so decisive in the 1590s, and an ancestor of their own; Piotr Opaliński, Royal Carver (1566-1600), reinstalled a Catholic priest at Bukowiec.²⁵⁷

Dissenters developed survival strategies for their churches, rebuilding where possible and moving when they could not. Dissenters weathered the Catholic Reformation onslaught on Opaliński land; the Bukowiec Lutherans survived into the twentieth century, and the Grodzisk Brethren moved to Gnin in 1593. The Czech Brethren founded several new churches to replace lost ones.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Grodzisk and Międzychód with Jan Ostroróg in 1593, Ceradz with the Potockis and Morkwo with Jadwiga Rostworowska in 1595, Pogorzela with the Pogorzelskis around 1607, Broniszewice and Lubionka with Stanisław and Łukasz Suchorzewski around 1612, Gnin with Gnińskis in 1618, Tuczno with Krzysztof Tuczyski in 1622 and Miłosław with Łukasz Górski in 1627. Wilkowo with Stanisław Wilkowski in 1636, Silec with the Zieleckis in 1640 and Wyszyna with Adam Grodziecki in 1644. Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.23-43.

²⁵⁶ Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie", pp.613-631.

²⁵⁷ See the PSB entries of all mentioned.

²⁵⁸ See 1.2.2 on Poznań and Wschowa. Bukowiec still had a Lutheran church when Mercyng made his study. The Poniec church gained a new building in neighbouring Weszków in 1606. Adam Przyjemski, Castellan of Gniezno moved Miejska Górka to Rawicz in 1639, in 1645 the Kwilcz Reformed moved to Orzeszkowo, in 1650 the Kurczewo community moved to neighbouring Marszewo. Other congregations met in patrons' houses, e.g. Skoki from 1645. Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.26, p.29, p.30, p.36, p.39.

The Brethren especially felt the loss of their Ostroróg church, their elders' seat, which was returned to Catholicism by tribunal decree in 1636.²⁵⁹ Calvinist Krzysztof Radziwiłł bought the dissenter church at Obrzycko in 1635, as a new home for the Czech Brethren. The building had belonged to a Silesian Lutheran. Radziwiłł founded a town there, and in 1643 decreed freedom of religion for its citizens, who by then included many more Lutheran immigrants while the Czech Brethren had moved on to Leszno.²⁶⁰ With the loss of Ostroróg, the Karmin church near Kalisz became more important. Founded in 1641 and patronised by parliamentarian Piotr Koźmiński until its destruction in the Deluge, it supported a second elder outside Leszno and drawing its congregation from three villages.²⁶¹

Immigration bolstered dissenter communities until the Deluge, overriding Zygmunt III's decrees against non-Catholics on royal lands.²⁶² The peak in efforts to return churches and convert nobles to Catholicism, the 1590s to the 1610s, was directly followed by a new influx of non-Catholics from abroad from the 1620s to the 1640s, keeping dissenter numbers high. This influx of Lutherans and Czech Brethren, denominations which had limited impact in the Catholic-Calvinist-Orthodox constellation of Little Poland and Lithuania, revived confessional pluralism in Great Poland.

Migration to Great Poland increased greatly with the Thirty Years' War, the first wave occurring in 1627, when the Habsburgs obliged their Bohemian subjects to attend Catholic worship.²⁶³ Immigrants came from areas affected by the conflict in the Holy Roman Empire, including Silesia and Pomerania.²⁶⁴ New towns were founded for them, 80% being noble, just 14% royal and 6% clerical foundations. Some were over the river bank from existing settlements; these *Doppelstädte* usually had one owner. Immigrants swelled existing towns like Kościań and Międzyrzecz. Szlachta encouraged craft workers to migrate,

²⁵⁹ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, pp.102-103, p.108.

²⁶⁰ Jan Schlichting corresponds with Radziwiłł's client Piotr Kochlewski in 1634, BR MS 48, pp.40b-55; letters between Kochlewski and Brethren minister Jan Rybiński, 1637-8 BR MS 343, pp.20ff.; Leszno ministers ask Janusz Radziwiłł to appeal to crown and Sejm for clergy originally forced out of Ostroróg, VIII 1641 in BR MS 62, p.47; Krzysztof Radziwiłł gives a farm at Borowino to Rybiński BR MS 218, p.9b.

²⁶¹ Jolanta Dworzaczkowa, "Zbór Braci Czeskich w Karminie" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 13 (1968), pp.185-198 (pp.190-193).

²⁶² Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.567, p.570.

²⁶³ Jiří Frajdl and Marta Kohárová, "Wschodnie Czechy w dobie wojny 30letniej" in Bartkiewicz (ed.), *Wojna 30letnia*, pp.73-86 (p.81).

²⁶⁴ Jaworski, "Migracje", p.155.

distributing German-language information in Silesia, offering economic privileges, and building dissenter churches.²⁶⁵

After the Deluge, this process was reversed as German states offered toleration, expecting economic gain from returning immigrants.²⁶⁶ Most Czech Brethren left Poland after the Deluge, initially fleeing to Silesia but not returning.²⁶⁷ Still, the Czechs continued to ordain around five new ministers a year from the 1630s into the 1670s.²⁶⁸ Bogusław Leszczyński got their Leszno church rebuilt, granting the town ten years free from tax and duties to recover from the war.²⁶⁹ The Lutherans, now the strongest dissenter confession in Great Poland, held separate synods after the Deluge.²⁷⁰

New foundations for dissenters went a long way to balance their losses, giving more parishes a church again. Many were founded with Catholic patronage; some supported both Catholic and Protestant communities. Catholic patrons thus acted in accordance with their affirmation of toleration and promotion of dissenter clients noted in chapters one and two. Public interest dovetailed with self-interest of course; new foundations were often specifically for dissenter immigrants.²⁷¹ These brought craft skills with them, and the towns were a source of income.²⁷² Adam Przyjemski patronised a Catholic church and allowed Lutherans to found a church and school at Osieczno. Przyjemski's town of Rawicz was founded for dissenters and a Lutheran church built; no Catholic church was needed till the nineteenth century.²⁷³ New Lutheran congregations were established in Poznań and Leszno in 1630 and 1633 as a direct result of immigration.²⁷⁴ When Wschowa was refounded in 1646, Catholic starosta Hieronim Radomicki allowed Lutheran immigrants to worship in the town hall; this also occurred in Kopenica. Two thirds of the

²⁶⁵ Zofia Kulejewska-Topolska, "Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce XVI-XVIII w." in *Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza pracy wydziału prawa 10* (1964), pp.3-35 (p.8, p.22, pp.30-31); Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", pp.554-555, p.570.

²⁶⁶ Jaworski, "Migracje", p.138.

²⁶⁷ Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, p.189.

²⁶⁸ ABC 1609, pp.1-9.

²⁶⁹ Bogusław Leszczyński, privilege to Leszno of 20 X 1657 in ABC 2541, p.346. He died a year later, but the Leszno community survived until 1863; Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.30.

²⁷⁰ Smend (ed.), *Die Synoden*, p.29.

²⁷¹ These were relocations of churches closed (Nowe Bojanowo, Poniec), for immigrants (Rawicz, Rejowiec, Sieniutowo, Schlichtingowa, Sokołowo, Zaborowo), and refoundation with royal approval (Osieczno); Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.22-43.

²⁷² Kulejewska-Topolska, "Nowe lokacje", p.35; Jaworski, "Migracje", pp.148-149.

²⁷³ See his PSB entry.

²⁷⁴ Krause, *Die Reformation*, p.16.

new towns founded had a dissenter church.²⁷⁵ At the end of the eighteenth century dissenters were still a majority in 12 towns in Great Poland.²⁷⁶ Under Zygmunt, the number of dissenter foundations was a bare fifth of the number of churches returned to Catholicism. Yet under Władysław the balance was reversed; dissenters founded more than double the number of churches they returned. Thus they managed to replace about half the churches lost under Zygmunt and his son. Church building continued into the eighteenth century.²⁷⁷ Even in the decades before partition, the number of Catholic parish churches in the Poznań diocese was only 66% of what it had been before the Reformation.²⁷⁸

Noble reconversions to Catholicism made an impact; dissenters in Great Poland made a net loss of over forty churches under Zygmunt and Władysław. They could nonetheless rely on szlachta sponsors, which included tolerant Catholics. The Czech Brethren and Socinians still found patrons, and Lutheran numbers remained stable under the first two Wazas. The revival of dissent through new church building and immigration allowed dissenters to regain half the churches they lost, often in new towns, on the eve of the Deluge. The growth of settler communities would not have been possible without the support of prominent Catholic szlachta who welcomed these 'outsiders'. Szlachta of all confessions encouraged members of other churches on their estates, from the Czech Brethren Ostrorógs in the 1550s to Catholics like the General Starosta Jan Opaliński in the 1650s. This reflects the co-existence within the political class described in the previous chapter. So while Zygmunt III's personal promotion of church returns made an impact, this was limited by support for diverse confessions among the szlachta.

²⁷⁵ New Brethren churches include patron Jan Rozdrażewski's stone church at Krotoszyn (see his PSB entry), one at the new town Zaborowo and elder Andrzej Rej's new town Skoki in 1632. Other new towns which gained new churches, mostly Lutheran, included Nowy Kotyń in 1632, Zduny in 1637, Swarzędz in 1638, Gołaszyn and Rawicz in 1639, Osieczna in 1635, Obrzycko in 1649 and Babimost in 1652, Sieniutowo, Schlichtyngowa and Jutrosin. These were 13 towns with a dissenter church, from a total of 20 founded from 1628-55; see Kulejewska-Topolska, "Nowe lokacje", pp.12-13.

²⁷⁶ Kulejewska-Topolska, "Nowe lokacje", pp.31-33.

²⁷⁷ Dissenters lost 72 churches and built 16 under Zygmunt III, but lost just 9 and built 21 under Władysław IV in Great Poland; so they managed to replace 37 of 81 churches lost. Individual parishes in Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.22-43; see also records of Brethren church rebuilding at Orzeszkowo and Skwierczyna in BR MS 343, p.38, p.43; New Brethren church at Wola in 1614, the height of heresy polemic and church returns, in elder Marcin Gertius' diary 3 XII 1614, ABC 1607, p.19.

²⁷⁸ Litak, *Od reformacji*, p.86.

3.4: Conclusions

The peculiar combination of having no single national Protestant church and a decentralised Commonwealth resulted in a relationship between confessions and government rare in contemporary Europe; no reformation received enough backing and impetus to crush the others, as confessional decentralisation was fostered by political decentralisation.

The Catholic Church gained ground under Zygmunt and Władysław, as reconversions and church returns to Catholicism show. 'Baroque Catholicism' was not the imposition of confessional conformity aided by a central power, but a church renewal which occurred in collaboration with the *szlachta*. Noble interests, such as office-holding and education, and the continuation of pre-Tridentine traditions, fused with their reforming efforts of the Jesuits and leading bishops. Yet these needs were also met through other confessions. All churches made similar efforts to reform and improve discipline, with varying success. The model of parallel reformations rather than opposing Reformation and Counter Reformation is a helpful one to describe this process. Yet education, censorship, visitations and synods all show evidence of continued confessional co-operation in Great Poland, which extended to affect other provinces, notably the Lutherans in Royal Prussia. This crossover ranged from a Catholic school founded on the Brethren leader Comenius' educational method and a Catholic vernacular Bible to a Brethren woman inspired by the Virgin Mary.

Immigration strengthened the heady mix of church loyalties in Great Poland, and new arrivals integrated with the locals; the *Polak katolik* stereotype was not yet applicable. Immigrants were a crucial factor in maintaining dissenter numbers, but the attitude of the *szlachta* who hosted them on their estates was just as important. Many *szlachta* tolerated communities from churches other than their own on their estates, in the same way that noble networks of allegiance were denominationally mixed. Thus the return of churches to Catholicism gathered pace during the first years of Zygmunt III's reign, but slowed, while the number of dissenter foundations increased again under Władysław. This pattern of church ownership parallels that of senatorial office found in chapter two. Perhaps the middle of Zygmunt III's reign was not such

a crisis for confessional relations after all. The next chapter will determine this, on the basis of the conflict of the 1600s, the Rokosz of Sandomierz.

4. The Rokosz of Sandomierz

The preceding three chapters have presented a model of working toleration, government and confessional relations in the *Rzeczpospolita*. The Rokosz of Sandomierz, the noble rising against the crown of 1606-9, is traditionally regarded as a turning point when all these structures broke down. This chapter explores how far the relationship between crown, senators and szlachta, Catholics and non-Catholics was able to survive the strain of such a crisis.

The *rokosz* has been read as a crucible for political and particularly confessional transformation in the early seventeenth century; the point when Zygmunt III fulfilled his aspirations as a 'Counter Reformation prince'. Interpretations of the *rokosz* were coloured by the perspective of Poland's later partition. Its failure appeared to signify the end of a 'golden age' of szlachta liberty and liberty of conscience; the Commonwealth was increasingly unable to cope with changing times.¹ According to this analysis, power moved from a broader base of szlachta rule to a 'magnate oligarchy' close to the crown. The *rokosz* seemed to mark a similar shift in religious authority from liberty of conscience for szlachta of all Christian confessions to a dominant Catholicism. Focusing on the role of Great Poland, which was in a unique position of distance to the rising due to regional distrust of both Zygmunt III and the opposition leadership, will shed light on how confessional politics changed at this pivotal point in Waza rule. While a chronology of these bare three years of crisis in relations between crown and szlachta can be traced, how events unfolded is still a matter of historical debate.

The Commonwealth *rokosz* occurred in the context of East-Central European confessional and political clashes long preceding the battle of White Mountain in 1620, the most severe of these conflicts, which triggered the demise of Protestantism in Bohemia. The Protestant opposition reacted against the

¹ Mickiewicz, "Nota o sposobie napisania historii polskiej"; Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.101ff.; Jarema Maciszewski, *Wojna domowa w Polsce* (Wrocław, 1960); Zofia Libiszowska, "Województwo sieradzkie i łęczyckie w latach rokosza Zebrzydowskiego" in *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego seria 1 n.30* (1963).

expanding Catholicism 'from above' which Habsburg rule epitomised.² Protestant-led unrest against the Habsburgs in Hungary (1604-6), Silesia and Bohemia (1609), ran parallel to the *rokosz*; refugees fled to Great Poland, joining the anti-Habsburg party there.³

Conflict with the Habsburg monarchy shaped the first years of Zygmunt III's reign, as Archduke Maximilian (1558-1618) was a candidate and retained his claim to the Polish throne after Zygmunt's election in 1587. Chancellor Jan Zamoyski led the efforts to condemn Maximilian as a danger to the Commonwealth, which became manifest in the Sejm of 1590. Yet Zamoyski soon moved to oppose Zygmunt III, as the king put the election behind him and pursued alliance with the Habsburgs for his own dynastic ends, planning to marry into their house. Zamoyski's faction feared that the monarch was bypassing his nobility. Zamoyski had enough authority to contain the opposition to royal policy within the framework of the Sejm, but himself became increasingly critical of a monarch who was clearly seeking advice elsewhere.⁴

The 'plots' (*praktyki*) that recur in the *rokosz* literature referred to Zygmunt's secret plans for a Habsburg marriage. They sought to discredit his new bride from the start; since Zygmunt was marrying his previous wife's sister, "what will Zygmunt's children call the Queen, mother or aunt, or something else?"⁵ Zygmunt began secret dealings with the Habsburgs in the early 1590s. He corresponded with Archduke Ernest (1553-1595) on the recommendation of Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612). Zygmunt was considering abdicating to pursue his claim to the Swedish throne; his resignation would leave the road clear for a Habsburg candidate to take the Polish-Lithuanian crown, and thus undermine the *szlachta* right to elect their monarch. When Zygmunt announced plans for his sister Anna to marry Archduke Ernest in February 1592, the *szlachta* assembled at Lublin and Jędrzejów, with Zamoyski's support, threatening a *rokosz*.⁶

² Gottfried Schramm, "Armed Conflict in East Central Europe: Protestant Noble Opposition and Catholic Royalist Factions 1604-20" in Evans (ed.), *Crown*, pp.176-195 (p.181).

³ Brethren minister Simon Turnowski's letter supporting Zamoyski to Lutheran superintendent Erasmus Gliczner, 10 VIII 1587 in Wotschke, *Erasmus Glitzner*, p.70.

⁴ Kazimierz Lepszy, *Rzeczpospolita polska 1589-1592 w dobie sejmu inkwizycyjnego* (Kraków, 1939) p.40, p.135, p.139, p.169, pp.197ff., p.225, pp.271ff., p.300.

⁵ Quote from *Rokosz vota* in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.35, pp.289-290; Broniewski condemns Austrian plotting and Zygmunt's marriage at Sandomierz, 24 VIII 1606 in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz* pp.289-290.

⁶ Lepszy, *Rzeczpospolita*, pp.331ff.

Future activists in the *rokosz* increasingly blamed the Habsburgs for aiding Zygmunt's claims in Sweden, where he had succeeded his father's throne in 1592 and been deposed in 1599. They felt that Habsburg hegemony had taken away Czech and Hungarian freedom, and now was stretching into Poland.⁷ Envoys blamed Habsburg influence for Zygmunt's efforts to grant Brandenburg the wardship (*kuratela*) of Royal Prussia, which the monarch forced through in 1606.⁸ Adherents of the rising condemned Austria for sowing seeds of discord at home, and now in Poland, and praised the Hungarians for standing up to the Habsburgs. "Fear, my children, who have begun to be made into evil instruments for the destruction of liberty, that what happened to my sister, the Hungarian Crown, and her sons, may happen to you."⁹

The conflict peaked at the 1605 Sejm, which passed no legislation.¹⁰ At the 1606 Sejm, Zygmunt was forced to affirm his election commitment to Commonwealth liberties before a distrustful szlachta. Great Poland's instructions prioritised liberty of conscience and their envoy Broniewski defended the *Pacta Conventa*. Disagreement over toleration broke up the chamber however; since the bishops refused to allow the constitution on tumults to be renewed, no compromise on how to apply the Warsaw Confederation was reached.¹¹

The rising only occurred when parliamentary means had failed. The day after the Sejm ended, the declaration calling for a *rokosz* came from the noble assembly at Stężyca on 9 April 1606, calling the szlachta to rise against the king as he had overruled the Sejm.¹² This was followed by local gatherings all over the Commonwealth, leading to another assembly at Lublin in June. Both sides produced their own manifestos in August 1606: the *rokosz*, led by the Catholic Palatine of Kraków, Michał Zebrzydowski (d.1620) and Calvinist

⁷ Royal referendary Szczesny Kryski, response to regalist attack on Stężyca, VII 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, p.351.

⁸ Janusz Małek, "Das politische Dreieck: die Politik der Stadt Königsberg gegenüber Polen 1525-1701" in Weczerka (ed.), *Stände*, pp.63-74 (pp.68-69).

⁹ *Rokosz* leader Jan Herburt, *Strzała* after Guzów in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, pp.167-168.

¹⁰ Sejmiki at Środa, Cujavia, and Wieluń were in opposition; Sieradz and Łęczyca stayed mostly regalist. Adam Strzelecki, *Sejm z 1605 r.* (Kraków, 1921), pp.4ff., pp.52-65, pp.109ff., pp.124-128, p.172, p.195, pp.234-236.

¹¹ Sejm diary 1606 in BK MS 325, p.601, pp.610ff.; p.620.

¹² Wacław Sobieski, *Pamiętny sejm* (Kraków, 1913), pp.42-44, p.101, p.154, p.217.

Castellan of Wilno, Janusz Radziwiłł met at Sandomierz in the assembly which gives the rising its name, and regalists, including leading nobles like the Potockis and Koniecpolskis and most of Great Poland's elite, met at Wiślica.

The Articles composed by the szlachta assembled from all over the Commonwealth at Sandomierz comprised the *rokosz* manifesto, listing all their grievances against Zygmunt, where they felt he was exceeding his rights while neglecting his responsibilities. The Articles opened with a critique of Zygmunt's 'bad foreign advisors', indicating that his relations with the Habsburgs had catalysed the *rokosz*. Article one stated that "All foreigners acting as *instrumenta* of advice and foreign plotting should be removed and sent away". According to article two, the *ius indigenatus* (the principle that office should go to Commonwealth szlachta) should be honoured, foreign titles and office-holders forbidden. Scots like Young, commander of the royal guard, as well as Habsburg and Jesuit influences, were singled out as examples of excessive foreign influence on the monarch. Secret communication with the Austrian rulers was a grievance raised in article four; "If (God forbid) *quocunque modo regnum vacare contigerit*, that no-one dare to promote one of their Highnesses the Archdukes who are *superstites* to the state... and this is to prevent plots, which after these transactions, conditions and cautions enacted at the Sejm, which with ever greater subtlety and to our ever greater danger are emerging from that side, against which our HRH *de facto* should fundamentally secure and defend us."¹³ This fear of international conspiracy arose directly from the king's actions.

Zygmunt III's marriage, eventually to Constantia, Archduke Ferdinand's sister, and Poland's alliance with the house that dominated the Bohemian and Hungarian estates symbolised a shift towards the principles of absolute monarchy. On deciding to withdraw their allegiance from the crown, the rising's adherents contrasted Polish liberty with Habsburg 'deceits'.¹⁴ Zygmunt had ignored the wisdom of previous rulers, and was tending towards *absolutum dominium*, so they could no longer obey him: "If it wasn't for the *rokosz*, we'd all be speaking Austrian."¹⁵ Distrust of the Habsburg model of

¹³ Sandomierz Articles in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.294-295.

¹⁴ Participants in the rising (*rokoszanie*) are called its 'adherents', since they were not seen as rebels, but exercising their traditional right to opposition.

¹⁵ *Przyczyny wypowiedzenia posłuszeństwa Zygmuntowi, królewiczowi szwedzkiemu 24 VI 1607 in Czubek (ed.), Pisma 3, pp.350-351, p.357.*

rule associated with a dominant Roman Catholicism, was widespread among the Commonwealth nobility.

Habsburg influence potentially threatened Commonwealth liberty, including confessional freedom. Catholics and Protestant contemporaries associated Austrian rule with enforcing Catholic uniformity on a confessionally diverse population. One of the first historians of the Polish Reformation understood the *rokosz* as a liberation movement against Zygmunt III and his Habsburg associates.¹⁶ The Dominican court preacher Birkowski also connected Zygmunt's Habsburg alliance with the rising. He condemned the "*Rokosz, Rebellions and Confederations in Poland*" and called for the defeat of rebels and heretics; Zygmunt's favouring of the Habsburgs was justified in this aim.¹⁷ The English ambassador to Poland, Sir Thomas Roe, recalled decades later that Zygmunt's second marriage into the Austrian dynasty had caused the *rokosz*, and saw the links with the Hungarian rising against the Habsburgs within a wider antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism.¹⁸

Tensions were at their height when a *rokosz* assembly at Jędrzejów was called for April 1607 to boycott the imminent Sejm. The majority then decided for compromise; only one sejmik failed to send representatives to the 1607 Sejm, though others, such as Bełz, sent deputies to both the Sejm and Jędrzejów. In Great Poland the Środa sejmik called an assembly at Koło which was sceptical about both the Sejm and Jędrzejów gathering. The remaining adherents of the rising withdrew their loyalty to the crown on 24 June 1607, and soon after on 5 July their forces, over 6,000 men, clashed with about 12,000 royalists at Guzów. Barely 150 soldiers lost their lives in the only significant battle of the rising. A week later, *rokosz* leader Janusz Radziwiłł issued a declaration calling for a new royal election on 5 August. Less than a year after their withdrawal of loyalty, on June 9 1608, participants in the rising were pardoned by royal decree, and an amnesty was declared at the Sejm in January 1609.¹⁹

¹⁶ Lubieniecki, *Historia*, p.281.

¹⁷ Fabian Birkowski, *Kwiaty koron królewskich nieśmiertelne, pamięć Zygmunta III* (Kraków, 1633), p.10, p.17, pp.26-30.

¹⁸ In his report of 26 XI 1624; Urszula Augustyniak (ed.), "*Spisek orleański*" 1626-8 (Warszawa, 1990), pp.89-90.

¹⁹ Henryk Wisner, *Rokosz Zebrzydowskiego* (Kraków, 1989), p.57, p.72, p.81; Konopczyński, *Dzieje* p.232 on Guzów.

It took more than two years before the whole szlachta could trust the king again. This chapter will examine the motivations for this long conflict and Great Poland's contribution to it, analysing the political and religious divisions in detail. It concludes with a survey of opposition to royal rule in the decades after the rising, showing how successfully these differences were resolved.

4.1: Why a *Rokosz*?

The *rokosz* itself harked back to the ideals of 1573 as an analysis of the Articles composed by the challengers to royal rule at the Sandomierz Assembly will show. By presenting their grievances to the king, the adherents of the *rokosz* initiated negotiations between partners in government, similarly to the procedure for composing constitutions in the Sejm. The Wiślica Articles were the official response to the *rokosz*; they were composed with royal approval by those szlachta loyal to Zygmunt III, assembled at Wiślica to counter the challenge presented at Sandomierz.

4.1.1: Sandomierz and Wiślica

The rising belonged to a Commonwealth tradition. Since 1573 each new monarch had pledged to keep a contract with the szlachta in the Henrician Articles. The article *de non praestanda obedientia* stated the szlachta's right to withdraw their loyalty from their ruler, if the nobility agreed he had not fulfilled his obligations; "et si (quod absit) in aliquibus juramentum meum violavero, nullam mihi incolae Regni omniumque Dominiorum uniuscujusque gentis, obedientiam praestare debebunt".²⁰ Other such risings had occurred before the *Pacta Conventa* were formulated - in 1379 and 1537 - making *rokosz* a traditional, if rare, form of szlachta protest.²¹ Adherents of the rising justified it as a reaction against the *absolutum dominium* of a king who had broken his contract with his subjects.²² The crown was the head of the Commonwealth, but "as in the human body, when the head is sick and the heart stalls, the other members cannot and will not function".²³

²⁰ Original Henrician Articles, 1574 in *Volumina legum*. t.2, p.135.

²¹ Bardach (ed.), *Historia państwa*, p.219; Wacław Sobieski, "Idée rokoszowe a różnowiercy za czasów Zygmunta Augusta" in *Reformacja w Polsce* 4 (1925), pp.1-14 (p.6); Wisner, *Rokosz*, p.3.

²² Czesław Chowaniec, "Poglądy polityczne rokosza 1606-7 wobec doktryn monomarchomachów francuskich" in *Reformacja w Polsce* 3 (1924), pp.256-265 (pp.261ff.).

²³ *Votum szlachcica polskiego ojczyznie wiernie miłującego* (Kraków, 1589), p.Aii.

Participants in the rising defined *absolutum dominium* as the king breaking the unity between the three ruling estates – the crown and szlachta in both houses of the Sejm, sealed by royal oath in the *Pacta Conventa*. The *rokosz* brought the ruler back into line: “*rokosz* is an ancient brake and warning to a wayward monarch, a broken Senate and szlachta”. The rising was to defend the old system from erosion by the monarch, rather than introduce changes.²⁴ Adherents of the rising from Poznań and Kalisz gathered evidence of Zygmunt’s ‘absolutism’; he had rejected Sejm petitions, ignoring the szlachta voice in government. “Looking at these and other Articles of the *Pacta [Conventa]* there are few of them for which enough has been done.”²⁵

The *rokosz* thus opposed a monarch seen as overstepping his authority without fulfilling his obligations. The Sandomierz Articles stated that Zygmunt was overriding the szlachta right to make decisions in matters of church and state, violating the commitments – from defence of the realm to toleration – which he had made in the *Pacta Conventa*. These called on the king to acknowledge the szlachta’s role in three key aspects of ruling the *Rzeczpospolita*.

The first priority at Sandomierz was the dissolution of the Habsburg alliance, the main criticism of Zygmunt’s perceived failure to defend the Commonwealth and his reliance on foreign advisors. The second priority for the signatories of the *rokosz* articles was to restore the szlachta role in government, particularly via resident senators, since this influence appeared to have been slipping in the preceding years of conflict with the king. The third issue, which had split the Sejm directly preceding the rising, was the place of religion in the Commonwealth, (including dissenter rights and the need for a *compositio inter status* to define the limits of clergy and szlachta jurisdictions).²⁶ The demands made at Sandomierz were wide-ranging; while some were immediately addressed at Wiślica, many were left open, giving adherents of the rising a reason to continue challenging, and eventually withdraw their loyalty, from

²⁴ Rokosz leader Prokop Pękosławski, *Skrypt*, IV 1607 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma.3*, p.289; Ochmann, “Od stabilizacji”, pp.238-239.

²⁵ Środa sejmik decides to attend the Sandomierz assembly, 8 VII 1606 in BR MS 231, p.41. Quote from *Ingrossao universali conuentu Lublin* in Kalisz Gr. 245, p.567.

²⁶ Sandomierz Articles, 8 X 1606 in BK MS 315, pp.34ff.; also in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.284, pp.294ff.; see chapter five on *compositio*.

their monarch. The Sandomierz Articles are summarised below, showing the motivations for the *rokosz* to continue. While the focus here will be on confessional issues, secular matters deserve a mention since the contention over domestic and international relations had important implications for religion.

Rokosz demands made in the Articles of Sandomierz, by date addressed		
at Wiślica in 1606	at the Sejm in 1607	unmet: grounds to withdraw loyalty
Principle of szlachta liberty and free election affirmed	Principle of free election reiterated	
Privilege of the Scot Young, Commander of the Royal Guard, withdrawn	<i>Ius indigenatus</i> – foreigners should not hold Commonwealth office	End ties to Habsburgs and ‘plotting’ (foreign alliance without consulting szlachta)
Defence – castles to be repaired	Monarch to build new castles, Status of Prussia and Livonia clarified, commitment to regain Estonia	South-eastern border defence, military discipline – addressed only at 1609 Sejm
		Legal reform (<i>korektura praw</i>): e.g. referendary’s role at Sejm court to increase, Treasury: royal accounts to be open to the Sejm, royal debts to be paid
Principle of resident senators affirmed	Detail on resident senators, how they are to be selected and serve	
Principle that vacancies should be filled affirmed	Vacancies in offices to be filled in first week of Sejm	
<i>Compositio inter status</i> referred to next Sejm	Annates and legal cases of clergy v. szlachta to remain in Commonwealth, not go to Rome; tithes suspended	Limit secular power of the Jesuits, full realisation of <i>compositio inter status</i> in 1635
Constitution on tumults of 1593 reaffirmed, Orthodox grievances referred to next Sejm	no change on toleration; equal granting of office to szlachta of all confessions not addressed	Warsaw Confederation only altered in 1632, Orthodox rights not addressed fully until 1635

The Wiślica Articles sought to refute the charge that the monarch was overstepping his authority. Three copies of these were produced for the three pillars of a mixed government; one went to the royal chancellery, a second was kept by the leading senator, the Archbishop of Gniezno, and a third by the szlachta *marszałek* at Wiślica, Adam Sieniawski, Royal Cup-Bearer (1566-1619). The Wiślica Articles opened with the monarch “defending the rights and liberties which we took oath to, that they may remain indivisible and untouched, and if any were neglected, that they shall be introduced, and those which have not been *in usu* shall be executed... in order to quiet the souls of our faithful subjects and keep them in faith and love towards us and our rule for the time to come.” These articles affirmed that the king had been freely elected, and conceded that the monarch should act on his election promises, for example by installing resident senators and remove foreigners from office, but left confessional and foreign affairs to be discussed at the next Sejm.²⁷ Since the *rokosz* had begun due to the failure of the 1606 Sejm, this did not placate the risers; the Wiślica Articles did not directly address enough of their concerns to defuse the conflict. The catalyst for the *rokosz*, Zygmunt’s ‘plotting’ with Habsburg Austria, was not immediately addressed and despite the number of szlachta who rallied round the monarch at Wiślica, the *rokosz* continued for many months to come.

4.1.2: Great Poland’s Exception

On the eve of the *rokosz*, opposition to the Habsburgs was part of opposition to Zygmunt III; but for Great Poland, these had long been two separate issues. Great Poland had supported Archduke Maximilian’s candidature in 1587, voting against Zygmunt Waza. Since the *rokosz* inherited Chancellor Zamoyski’s opposition to the Habsburgs, Great Poland was wary of getting involved. When Zygmunt overcame his differences with the Austrians, the region also became more critical of the Habsburgs, but remained wary of Zamoyski’s power. The province was thus well placed to mediate, distancing itself from both the monarch they had voted against and from the rising, which arose from a faction that they had opposed.

Great Poland was committed to the Habsburg candidate, Maximilian, from the contested election of 1587; regional szlachta gathered at Środa to protest that Zygmunt's election was illegal.²⁸ This was masterminded by Stanisław Górka, the Lutheran Palatine of Poznań and the Archbishop of Gniezno, Stanisław Karnkowski. These leaders from Great Poland sought Austrian support as a counterweight to their rival, Jan Zamoyski, hoping to establish an alternative power base to that of the Chancellor. They were joined by Janusz Radziwiłł, Castellan of Wilno, in Lithuania.²⁹ Zamoyski, who was also Hetman, had grown extremely influential under Stefan Batory and hoped to retain his dominance under the inexperienced King Zygmunt III; according to his biographer, the Chancellor had the potential to become a "Polish Cromwell", though his dominance was less assured under Zygmunt, who sought to widen the royal circle of advisors.³⁰

The conflict between Zygmunt and Maximilian continued for years. At the 1590 Sejm, Zamoyski's camp pushed through a constitution condemning Maximilian, which declared all his claims to the Polish throne illegitimate, denying both his original and future right to stand for election. "The nomination of his Highness the Archduke Maximilian was raised illegally, incorrectly and improperly, by a small number of people, also later at the public assemblies, inappropriately and against the liberties of this *Rzeczpospolita*".³¹ The constitution thus implicitly sidelined those who had voted for Maximilian in the first place.

Karnkowski and Górka responded by calling a regional assembly at Koło on 10 August 1590. This assembly demanded the withdrawal of the constitution on Maximilian, and other measures to increase their own political control; specifically, restrictions on the powers of Chancellor Zamoyski. The gathered szlachta wanted assurance that Sejm constitutions would not be altered without szlachta knowledge – "whatever is agreed commonly at the Sejm should be *sacrosanctum*" – and a clear, peaceful process for future royal

²⁷ Wiślica Articles, 4 IX 1606 in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.308ff.

²⁸ *Poparcie wolnej elekcji Króla Zygmunta III polskiego i Szwedzkiego na zieżdzie pod Wiślicą namowione* (n.p. 1587); *Protestatio in asserto conventu particulari sredensi, posnaniensis et caliniensi palatinatum 19 IX 1587* (Poznań, 1587).

²⁹ Other supporters included Olbracht Łaski, Palatine of Sieradz, Stanisław Gostomski, Palatine of Rawa; see their PSB entries.

³⁰ Stanisław Grzybowski, *Jan Zamoyski* (Warszawa, 1994), pp.189ff, p.253, p.285.

³¹ *Volumina legum*. t.2, pp.304-305.

elections at a fixed time and place outside Warsaw based on the Henrician Articles, to avoid a repeat of the uncertainty after Henri Valois's flight (obliquely referring to the situation after 1587). The assembly called other palatinates to join their protest.³² This declaration was approved by the general sejmik for Great Poland before the 1591 Sejm, also at Koło.³³ The Środa sejmik protested again when the Sejm refused the assembly's demands, and assemblies of Maximilian's supporters followed Great Poland's lead, at Radom and Lublin in 1591 and 1592.³⁴

As the king overcame his differences with the Habsburgs, he also won over leaders from Great Poland. The province moved towards compromise with Zygmunt III in the 'Inquisition Sejm' (*sejm inkwizycyjny*) of 1592. This was a crucial regional shift from the election; the province changed tactics in order to rein in Zamoyski. Great Poland's deputies condemned Zygmunt's negotiations with Archduke Ernest as unauthorised by the szlachta. They joined other envoys in refusing to grant taxation and affirming dissenter rights at this Sejm.³⁵ Karnkowski still presented a mediating solution, condemning Zygmunt's 'plotting' but affirming him as ruler. Thus it was possible for the Senate eventually to approve a constitution stating that the monarch was not to leave the Commonwealth or choose a successor, but the Upper Chamber refused to approve a constitution excluding the Habsburgs from the succession to the Polish throne. These new constitutions reached the Chamber of Envoys too late to be passed, on the last day of debate. Still, the Sejm sent Zygmunt a clear signal about the limits of his freedom to negotiate with the Habsburgs.³⁶

The *rokosz* was triggered by the loss of Chancellor Zamoyski's influential leadership; he died in 1605. The rising's leader, Michał Zebrzydowski, is generally perceived as Zamoyski's successor and was the guardian of his son, continuing opposition to the Habsburg alliance. Unlike his predecessor, Zebrzydowski failed to keep conflict within the Sejm.³⁷

³² *Confoederatio generalis Wielkopolski w Kole* (Poznań, 1590); copy in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.98ff.

³³ Lepszy, *Rzeczpospolita*, pp.161ff., p.183, p.226, pp.235ff.

³⁴ Środa 3 XI 1590, 17 XI 1590, 12 III 1591 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.143-153; Grzybowski, *Zamoyski*, pp.245-248.

³⁵ 1592 Sejm diary, BK MS 307; Środa to that Sejm, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.162.

³⁶ Lepszy, *Rzeczpospolita*, pp.358ff.

³⁷ Chowaniec, "Poglądy polityczne", p.259; Schramm, "Armed Conflict", p.184.

Great Poland was thus reluctant to join the *rokosz*, since most regional leaders had joined Karnkowski's faction against Zamoyski in the 1590s. Zamoyski had nonetheless found prominent allies in Great Poland, notably General Starosta Andrzej Opaliński, Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć, Jan Ostroróg, Castellan and future Palatine of Poznań, and Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Rawa, later Castellan of Inowrocław.³⁸ Yet these allies were conspicuous by their absence in the rising. Andrzej Leszczyński and Andrzej Opaliński were dead by 1606. A few, like Piotr Chojeński, Castellan of Santok, switched to the regalists. Most interestingly, constitutionalist senators - including Zamoyski's old collaborator Jan Ostroróg - mediated between crown and szlachta, helping to defuse the conflict as they had in 1592.

Great Poland sought to curb the influence of Zamoyski's successors in Little Poland, where the rising began. While agreeing to go to Sandomierz, the Sieradz szlachta stressed that "there should be no lordship or placing of one noble person or palatinate above the others at this assembly, since according to *aequalitate Reipublicae*, no one or few palatinates may set themselves above the others." Their concern was not unreasonable, since the resident senators proposed at Sandomierz were all from Kraków, showing that Little Poland was the centre of the rising.³⁹

The social composition of the *rokosz* in Great Poland was not different from that of other regions - senators stayed away - but the leadership was weaker. From a 150-seat Upper House, Wisner records 13 senators present at Sandomierz; just two were from Great Poland, Aleksander Koniecpolski, Palatine of Sieradz and Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Rawa, with two Lithuanians, including Janusz Radziwiłł, and nine from Little Poland.⁴⁰ Most senators, including Great Poland's, joined the first regalist assembly at Wiślica.

³⁸ Michał Działyński, Palatine of Inowrocław and Andrzej Opaliński, general starosta, informed Krzysztof Radziwiłł on regional opposition to Maximilian; Działyński to Radziwiłł of 8 I 1588 in ARV 3465, p.2, Opaliński's letter of 11 IV 1587 in ARV 10875. Jan Ostroróg, Castellan of Poznań, wrote to Radziwiłł on Habsburg danger, 5 I 1590, ARV 11091, p.8; he was close to Zamoyski, Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, pp.34ff.

³⁹ *Postanowienie województwa sieradzkiego o iachaniu na Rokosz*, BK MS 317, p.154. See 4.2 on resident senators.

⁴⁰ Wisner, *Rokosz*, p.21.

Some leading figures in the *rokosz* were parliamentarians from Środa. Czech Brother Marcin Broniewski steered the assembly towards a reasoned course at Sandomierz; “let us not flee directly towards the article *de non praestanda obedientia* but first write certain Articles, so that we will be ready *in utraque partem* and know what remedies we need, and how to proceed whether HRH (His Royal Highness) appears and satisfies us or not”. He also informed the Radziwiłłs on Great Poland’s role in the rising.⁴¹ Catholic Piotr Łaszcz was among the most committed opponents of royal “tyranny and *absolutum dominium*”.⁴²

Following their lead, szlachta from every palatinate in Great Poland signed a declaration in which they withdrew their obedience from the crown.⁴³ This stated that “not enough was done to fulfil not only the Articles sent from the Rokosz at Sandomierz, but also those from Wiślica... neither the Senators nor the szlachta [in the Chamber of Deputies] have been listened to... to the last defence of our liberties, to the right *de non praestanda obedientia* we are forced to withdraw our loyalty from Zygmunt III, until now our Lord, according to our rights and liberties.”⁴⁴

Great Poland was divided in a conflict which split the Commonwealth, but lent less support to the rising - as signatories, envoys or soldiers - in comparison with other provinces. The Środa sejmik decided to support the Articles of Sandomierz with 195 signatures, and ten days later a protest against the *rokosz*, with 153 signatures, appeared in the Poznań *gród* court.⁴⁵ The Palatinate of Kalisz showed some initial enthusiasm for the *rokosz*, sending delegates, since the normal representative channels were not working; “to our oppression and destruction, they have closed and called off the Sejm”.⁴⁶ The palatinates of Sieradz, Rawa and Łeczyca sent representatives to Sandomierz, though as in Poznań, other szlachta in Sieradz registered their protest against the rising. Altogether there were two thousand from Great Poland at

⁴¹ Broniewski’s speech at Sandomierz, BK MS 315, p.14. He reported on the 1607 Koło and Warszawa assemblies to Janusz Radziwiłł, letters of 15 II and 10 XI 1607 in ARV 1419, pp.13ff.

⁴² Jędrzejów assembly diary in BC MS 337, p.508.

⁴³ The starosta of Bydgoszcz representing Poznań and Kalisz, Cup-Bearer Tchorzewski acting for Brześć Kujawski and three representatives each from Poznań, Łeczyca and Sieradz at the formal withdrawal of loyalty to the crown at Powsin near Warsaw on 24 VI 1607; BK MS 1069, pp.136-137; BR MS 18, pp.291.

⁴⁴ *Wypowiedzenie posłuszeństwa Krolowi Iego Mości Świętego Jana Krzyciela 1607*, BK MS 1069, p.136.

⁴⁵ Decision of the Środa sejmik to attend the Sandomierz Assembly, 8 VII 1606, condemnation of the *rokosz*, 18 VII 1606 in BR MS 231, p.29, p.51; list of signatories in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.235-237.

⁴⁶ Kalisz assembly, 22 V 1606; BR MS 233, p.189; second Kalisz Assembly, 16 I 1607 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.322ff.

Sandomierz, against five thousand with leaders from Little Poland, and around four thousand from the eastern palatinates of Wołyń, Kiev and Braclaw.⁴⁷ Thus Great Poland, one of the three core provinces of the Commonwealth, provided barely a fifth of the forces at the main gathering of the *rokosz*; two out of eleven thousand men, with two out of thirteen senators.

Great Poland's szlachta used their distance from both sides of the *rokosz* to offer a compromise. The crossroads in the conflict came in early 1607, with regalists calling for unity in the Sejm while another *rokosz* assembly was planned at Jędrzejów. The regional szlachta gathered at Koło on 14 February 1607. This assembly stated the *rokosz* goals were best furthered by discussing them in the imminent Sejm – on condition that the crown also made concessions. The Koło declaration argued that neither the *rokosz* nor regalists had satisfied regional desires for reform. “We see not only the *Rokosz* articles as an abomination, but also those of Wiślica, on whose imperfections and, in certain points, dangerousness, we remain silent for now”. They would accept a Sejm on condition that the king and senators brought no soldiers to it, and that the *rokosz* articles were approved there, instead of gathering without the monarch at Jędrzejów.⁴⁸ This conciliatory approach struck a chord; the Sejm went ahead, and the Jędrzejów Assembly lost szlachta support. We will see how a consensus gradually developed between the parties split at Sandomierz and Wiślica.

4.2: The *Rokosz* and Commonwealth Identity

How power should be shared between crown and nobles was the most important issue raised by the *rokosz* at Sandomierz and the regalist gathering at Wiślica. With a Catholic monarch and confessionally diverse szlachta, this political division was crucial for church relations, as chapters two and three have shown.⁴⁹ Supporters of the *rokosz* felt justified in accusing the king of *absolutum dominium*. The Sandomierz Articles stated where he had disregarded noble liberties, neither ruling in consultation with the szlachta, particularly in foreign affairs, nor realising all the pledges made on his

⁴⁷ Lists of envoys to Sandomierz in BK MS 317, pp.154ff.; diary of Sandomierz, 6 VIII 1606 in BK MS 991, p.227b and in BO MS 115/III p.29, p.32.

⁴⁸ *Unwersał kołski* in BK 315 pp.93ff.

⁴⁹ See chapters 2.4 on confessional decentralisation and 3.3 on implementing the reformations.

election. This section will show how far the rising's demands – made at Sandomierz and not fully resolved at Wiślica – were met in the course of the *rokosz*. The internal political questions are addressed here first, before moving on to analyse the church issues at stake, to conclude whether the rising really marked a seismic shift in church and state relations in the *Rzeczpospolita*.

4.2.1: Senators versus non-Senators?

The *rokosz* appeared to pit middling and lesser nobles against the combined forces of crown and Senate, since less than a tenth of senators were present at Sandomierz. Crown and non-senatorial szlachta competed for senatorial support throughout the rising. Great Poland was instrumental in healing the division between them.

A major concern at Sandomierz was that the szlachta had lost the ear of the king, guaranteed through their office. A priority in the *rokosz* articles was that senators be resident at court to represent szlachta opinion as the most important royal advisors. Article six stated; “Their lordships these senators shall have such *authoritas* that HRH shall do everything according to their will, and shall not dare to act against them.” Their salaries were to be doubled, and four senators were to take up residency now; the Bishop, Palatine and Castellan of Kraków, and Trocki. Offices were to be granted fairly – “*justitiam distributivam*” – according to merit, and vacancies to be filled immediately, as articles seven and eight stated. The Wiślica Articles promised to apply the existing constitution which provided for resident senators, who would be chosen at the next Sejm. Offices were to be distributed “*de bene meritis*”.⁵⁰ Concrete filling of vacancies had to wait.

Senatorial leadership was absolutely crucial to the *rokosz*. The rising's adherents rarely attacked the crown directly, focussing instead on bringing ‘bad advisors’ to justice.⁵¹ As *rokosz* activist Marcin Broniewski stated; “failing the proper advice” Zygmunt had misjudged his military plans.⁵² The articles show that the *rokosz* wanted the crown ruling in the Sejm, listening to szlachta envoys and resident senator advisors, not outsiders.

⁵⁰ Sandomierz and Wiślica Articles in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.296-297, pp.311-314.

⁵¹ Wisner, *Rokosz*, p.19, p.28; also throughout Czubek and Rembowski's collections of *rokosz* polemic.

The szlachta was seeking new senatorial representation of its interests to the crown to replace their Chancellor. Regalists, the rising's adherents and constitutionalists in the *rokosz* all lamented Zamoyski's death. He had represented them as a highly favoured senator who still decided to oppose Zygmunt III, and would have solved the conflict; "Arise, honourable Zamoyski! You were always fortunate; you would have been able to put out this fire."⁵³ Adherents of the rising distinguished between 'good' and 'bad' senators; a *rokosz* assembly in Great Poland condemned senators who sought their own interests instead of ensuring that the crown affirmed the *Pacta Conventa*.⁵⁴ *Rokosz* polemicists contrasted their leaders with those like Gostomski, Palatine of Poznań, who had betrayed the rising: "The Radziwiłłs are *Vindices libertatis*, the Zebrzydowskis are honourable in sword and speech; they are mighty, since they restored liberty, I will not fear for Poland or Lithuania."⁵⁵

Thus 'bad advisors' were more likely to be foreigners than senators. This noble fear that foreign advisors might limit their influence was typical for estates across Europe, but took on a particular edge in the context of the Habsburg alliance.⁵⁶ The *rokosz* wanted offices reserved for Commonwealth nobles who could represent them; more senatorial power, not less. From Great Poland, Broniewski stressed the value of *ius indigenatus*, listing foreign advisors who had replaced indigenous senators, and condemning foreign honours. "There has never been a greater treasure in Poland than to be born into the szlachta, now grand foreign titles are introduced over our heads, breaking the law and destroying the *aequitatem* among us."⁵⁷

Great Poland was instrumental in getting senators to work with the rising and restore relations with the crown. There was a willingness to negotiate; the szlachta at Lublin did wish to convene without the senators but this reflected legitimate political practice in the Sejm, negotiating in separate chambers

⁵² Broniewski at Sandomierz, BK MS 315, p.14.

⁵³ *Pieśń nowa aby Pan Bóg raczył ten rokosz uspokoić*, IX 1606 (cited); *rokosz* praise of his leadership, VIII 1606; constitutionalist lament that he has not been equalled, *Rytm o pogromie* VII 1607; regalist Myszkowski's *Dyalog* all in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.35, p.105, p.153, p.235.

⁵⁴ Sieradz assembly 22 III 1607, Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.365-366.

⁵⁵ *Na senatory*, IV or V 1606, *Sumienie mówi*, VI 1606 and *Echo rokoszańskie* in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.11, p.23, pp.85-87.

⁵⁶ *Trąba wolności*, IV 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.358; Lublin diary in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.20.

⁵⁷ Broniewski at Sandomierz, 24 VIII 1606 in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.288-289.

before meeting.⁵⁸ At Sandomierz, Broniewski called on the senators and crown to meet them.⁵⁹ His colleague Piotr Łaszczyński agreed, “we need to send to their lordships the Senators so that they will stand fraternally with us, we need to ensure that we do not drive the great leaders away from us.”⁶⁰

Reconciliation with the existing monarch seemed increasingly attractive as the *rokosz* extended beyond szlachta assembly. From Stężyca onwards, regalists warned against civil war.⁶¹ Zygmunt’s decrees presented the *rokosz* as using the “defence of szlachta liberty as a pretext for private power”, accusing the rising’s adherents of plunder and violence.⁶² Zygmunt III already offered hope that the Senate could influence a compromise at Wiślica, where most senators chose to support the king in return for the concessions set out in the Wiślica Articles.⁶³ The *rokosz* lost support as the conflict affected szlachta lands. Łukasz Opaliński the elder brought a lengthy case against *rokosz* leader Stanisław Stadnicki for leading soldiers through his estate, “with disregard for his Royal Majesty and the public peace.”⁶⁴

The 1607 Sejm undermined the unity of the *rokosz*, reviving hopes that the estates could work together. The rising was split over whether to recognise the Sejm.⁶⁵ The Jędrzejów assembly clashed with the pre-Sejm sejmiki, but support for the rising increased when the Sejm was delayed.⁶⁶

Great Poland’s szlachta sought a compromise between *rokosz* and regalists in their Koło Assembly in February 1607. They appealed for senatorial leadership to the general starosta and archbishop as successors to the regional opposition leaders of the 1590s, Karnkowski and Górka, just as the *rokosz* sought a successor to Zamoyski. The Koło declaration asked the general starosta, Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, to appeal to the crown on behalf of the regional szlachta, since they doubted that the Sejm would be successful. “We note from your lordship’s letter to our assembly at Koło,

⁵⁸ Diary of Lublin, 1606 in BR MS 18, p.22.

⁵⁹ Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.76, p.84, p.288.

⁶⁰ Sandomierz diary in BK MS 316, p.19.

⁶¹ 1606 decree in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz* p.130; regalist Kryski on Stężyca, 9 IV 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma* 2, p.327.

⁶² Declarations and deputation to the *rokosz* of 24 VIII 1606; Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.205ff., p.216.

⁶³ *Rozmowa o rokoszu*, X 1606, Czubek (ed.), *Pisma* 2, p.122.

⁶⁴ Opaliński v. Stadnicki, 1608 in Wschowa Gr. 37, pp.190-191; more in BK MS 316, p.191, p.196, p.222b.

⁶⁵ Adam Strzelecki, “Udział i rola różnowierstwa w rokoszu Zebrzydowskim” in *Reformacja w Polsce* 7-8 (1935-6), pp.101-184 (pp.162-163, pp.169-170).

⁶⁶ Schmitt, *Rokosz*, p.442; Wisner, *Rokosz*, p.2, p.53.

offering your opinion, aid to the fatherland and our satisfaction, your concern for your senatorial responsibility, your brotherly desire, good will and mercy, for which we thank you... we wish to *recurrere* to that which we understand will, God willing, effectively restore and preserve our liberties; especially since their lordships the senators will not oppose and impede this, but rather, together with the knightly estate, on their initiative intervene with HRH to satisfy these grievances." Letters were also sent from Koło to Zebrzydowski, Radziwiłł, regional tribunal envoys and the Lublin szlachta.⁶⁷

The Koło assembly also appealed to the Archbishop of Gniezno, Bernard Maciejowski. The gathering included "Catholics faithful to the Lord God and virtuous, who love harmony and liberty, as well as *dissidentes in Religione*".⁶⁸ This appeal was not the first; the Kalisz Assembly had already sent the archbishop a deputation. "Since we are unable to receive satisfaction of our violated rights and liberties, after returning from the *rokosz* and the forced and imposed Janowiec agreement, we expect the fall of the whole *Rzeczpospolita*... so we ask your Holiness, as *principi et primati Regni in Republica nostra*, to look into this troubled state of affairs in the *Rzeczpospolita*, *ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*."⁶⁹ The archbishop told the regional szlachta to go to the Sejm instead, stressing that their senators were not plotting against them.⁷⁰

The hopes raised at Koło were fulfilled. Just as there was a third constitutionalist grouping between the regalists and republicans in Commonwealth government, so in the *rokosz*, a third, compromise tendency emerged to bridge the divide between crown and szlachta via the Senate. Like the rising's supporters, the regalists also sought the Archbishop of Gniezno's aid; "we do not doubt that you, as our Primate, will save our *Rzeczpospolita*".⁷¹ Mediators from Great Poland included Andrzej Przyjemski, Castellan of Gniezno, who tried to reach a compromise at the 1607 Sejm.⁷² Przyjemski was chosen as a representative to the crown from the Stężyca assembly where the rising began. Aleksander Koniecpolski, Palatine of Sieradz, argued he could

⁶⁷ Correspondence in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, pp.343-349, cited letter to Czarnkowski, 14 II 1607, p.346.

⁶⁸ Koło declaration, 14 II 1607, and Janusz Radziwiłł's declaration, in BK MS 315, pp.62-102.

⁶⁹ Letter from Kalisz to the Archbishop of Gniezno, 16 I 1607 in BC MS 335, pp.96-97.

⁷⁰ Letter from Koło and response, 12 II 1607 in BK MS 317, pp.483-484.

⁷¹ Declaration and letters of the Słupca assembly, 4 I 1608; Andrzej Opaliński, Bishop of Poznań approves of the assembly, report to Pstroński, vice chancellor in 1608, in BK MS 306, pp.156-158.

⁷² Stanisław Cynarski, "Stronnictwo królewskie w dobie rokoszu Zebrzydowskim" in *Małopolskie studia historyczne* 8 nr. 3 (1965), pp.3-24 (p.24).

best protect noble liberties as a senator; the king had promised to listen to all the szlachta in the Sejm. Koniecpolski moved from supporting the Sandomierz Assembly in 1606 to seeking to incorporate supporters of the Jędrzejów Assembly into the 1607 Sejm.⁷³

Other constitutionalists included Jan Ostroróg, who tried to mediate at the 1606 Sejm, though he opposed royal policy before and after the rising.⁷⁴ Ostroróg addressed the chamber, embellishing his case for senators as mediators; “For *Princeps cum populo* are like two *pondere aequivalentia* balances *appensa* and one sees it thus, that if one *pondus* falls from its balance, at once the second must fall down also, *atque ita parte corrupta, tota massa corrumpatur necesse est*, and so that there should be perfect balance in *corpore*, from which the weight hangs, the *aequivalentia* which is called the Senate should moderate, for it is an *intermedius inter Principem et populum*.”⁷⁵ Significantly, Ostroróg was among Great Poland’s supporters of Zamoyski; for them the tension of loyalties between the rising’s adherents and crown was greatest.

These senators from Great Poland were crucial in restoring the balance between estates, driving a ‘legalist’ coalition in the whole conflict.⁷⁶ Czubek notes a third ‘neutral’ group of *rokosz* polemicists. One such constitutionalist stressed the mediating role of senators, helping crown and Sejm reach consensus as the best royal advisors.⁷⁷ Another stressed the middle ground; the *rokosz* at Sandomierz and royalists at Wiślica could agree on the importance of resident senators, the need for reform in the courts, and condemning granting szlachta status to foreigners.⁷⁸

The 1607 Sejm sought to exploit exactly this middle ground. Many of its constitutions acted on promises made in the *Pacta Conventa* as the Sandomierz Assembly had requested. The first constitution passed assured that szlachta “freedom to choose the King of Poland shall be preserved wholly

⁷³ Stężyca assembly diary, 9 IV 1606 in BR MS 18, p.1; Koniecpolski’s declaration, 21 VIII 1606 in BK MS 289, p.289.

⁷⁴ Cynarski, “Stronnictwo królewskie”, p.12.

⁷⁵ Sejm diary 1606 in BK MS 325, p.595.

⁷⁶ Henryk Schmitt, *Rokosz Zebrzydowskiego* (Lwów, 1838), p.241, p.265, pp.353-354, p.568.

⁷⁷ *Rzeczy naprawy potrzebujące w Rzeczypospolitej*, IV1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, pp.296-301.

⁷⁸ *Collatio tego wszystkiego, co na rokoshu w Wiślicy zawarto*, after 13 IX 1606, Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 3*, pp.117ff.

and inviolably for all time". The second constitution reaffirmed the provision for resident senators made under Henry IV and listed 16 senators to take up residence for six months each over the following two years. Secular senators who failed to fulfil their obligation were threatened with losing their office; they and the bishops faced a fine for non-attendance.

Other *rokosz* grievances followed. The third constitution affirmed the *ius indigenatus*, reiterating that foreigners were not to be appointed to any post at court, in secular or spiritual office, according to the *Pacta Conventa*. This excluded Swedish courtiers at the Polish-Lithuanian court, though they were not to interfere in Commonwealth matters. Zygmunt III affirmed his commitment to regain Estonia for the Commonwealth. Defence was dealt with in a constitution on building castles as promised in the *Pacta Conventa*. Vacancies were to be filled with suitable persons "without delay", in the first week of each Sejm. Other issues covered included making Prince Joachim Friedrich of Brandenburg (1546-1608) 'curator' of Prussia – from now on the Sejm would be consulted in such matters - and the defence of the Ukrainian border. Livonian nobles were recognised as full Commonwealth citizens. There were also constitutions preparing for a *compositio inter status*, discussed below. The Sejm concluded with a 'clarification' of the article *de non praestanda obedientia*, stating that the proper process for dealing with a monarch failing in his duties was to address the Primate, senators and Sejm in that order; withdrawing loyalty was an absolute last resort.⁷⁹

This Sejm thus adopted all the Wiślica Articles but rejected *rokosz* demands on the Jesuits and toleration, the army, royal treasury and legal reform.⁸⁰ Catholic and Protestant declarations at the 1607 Sejm proposed a 300 złoty fine for instigators of tumults, but no constitution on this was passed.⁸¹ Indeed the 1607 Sejm affirmed the restoration of the Jesuits to the church and school at Toruń from which they had been expelled.⁸² The 1609 Sejm would address military discipline. The articles calling for legal reform included the demand for an increased szlachta role in relation to the crown, firstly by allowing referendaries to set the agenda by composing the register of cases to

⁷⁹ *Volumina legum*. t.2, pp.433-443, p.449, p.452.

⁸⁰ Henryk Schmitt, "Kilka uwag w sprawie rokoszu" in *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* (Poznań, 1865), pp.1-86 (pp.54-55); Wisner, *Rokosz*, p.62; see 4.1 on the Wiślica Articles.

⁸¹ *Proces katolicki and ewangelickie podanie* at the 1607 Sejm in BC MS 335, pp.194-196.

⁸² *Volumina legum*. t.2, pp.440-441.

be heard in the Sejm court and secondly by royal accounts being read before the Sejm and royal debts paid. These had aimed to force responsibility onto a monarch shirking his obligations, and were thus sidelined in a Sejm that felt co-operation was restored, though the 1607 Sejm did try to regulate collection of funds to the treasury further.⁸³

Dissatisfied with the outcome of the Sejm, Łaszcz persuaded his fellow adherents of the *rokosz* to withdraw their loyalty to the crown at Jędrzejów; their radical decision to elect a new king in September 1607 lost them yet more support.⁸⁴ Zygmunt Grudziński, initially urged participants in the rising to join the Sejm, but a day later renewed his commitment to the *rokosz* at Jędrzejów.⁸⁵ He was the only regional senator to do so and renounce his allegiance to the crown.

Yet for most szlachta, compromise on the bulk of the *rokosz* issues, restoration of a working relationship with senators and crown, was preferable to further conflict. As the 1607 Sieradz sejmik put it; “we do not think of changing our ruler, but are sure that your Highness will preserve our rights and freedoms”.⁸⁶ This was a shift from the earlier attitude of Sieradz in 1606, where even those szlachta who favoured the Wiślica Articles over the Sandomierz formulations admitted that “those who had recently gathered at Lublin for certain weighty reasons to mend the rights, freedoms and liberties of the Kingdom... which require great remedy”.⁸⁷

Great Poland’s senators now used their unique position of distance from the *rokosz* despite their regional history of opposition to Zygmunt III, encouraging the rising’s adherents to back down after the failed election. Archbishop Maciejowski called on them to restore their loyalty and come to the Sejm; loyal szlachta should also resist the *rokosz*.⁸⁸ General starosta Czarnkowski, his brother Andrzej, Palatine of Kalisz, and Aleksander Koniecpolski, Palatine of Sieradz all condemned the last major *rokosz* assembly at Jędrzejów.⁸⁹

⁸³ See chapter 2.2 on financial reforms.

⁸⁴ Jędrzejów assembly diary in BC MS 335, pp.504-510.

⁸⁵ Zygmunt Grudziński to the assembly at Jędrzejów, 9 and 10 IV 1607 in ARV 4807.

⁸⁶ Universal of the Sieradz sejmik in 1607, BK MS 317, p.244.

⁸⁷ Sieradz protest against the Sandomierz assembly, BK MS 317, p.155b.

⁸⁸ Archbishop of Gniezno’s declaration, 29 VI 1607 in BC MS 337, pp.566-570.

⁸⁹ Koło assembly, 6 and 7 III 1607; Koniecpolski to the szlachta, 18 III 1607, assembly at Sieradz preparing for Jędrzejów, where Koniecpolski encouraged the szlachta to return home, assembly response affirming the *rokosz*, 21 and 22 III 1607, diary of Jędrzejów, 10 IV 1607 in BK MS 1069, pp.118ff.

In 1608, Great Poland's senators worked even harder to bring the *rokosz* to an end. They declared their loyalty to, and financial support for, the crown, in their own assembly at Słupca. They asked Zygmunt to communicate with them more to counter the rising; "We wish for more frequent news from HRH since we did not receive any at this time, and so we were left in uncertainty, not knowing what to hold on to. We ask to see the official declaration of the Hetman and Palatine of Kraków soon. This is very necessary so that we can tell others what to expect."⁹⁰ Letters to Zebrzydowski from the Palatines of Poznań, Łęczyca and Sieradz dated from 30 January 1608 and from Jan Ostroróg, Castellan of Poznań, in June called for a halt to the *rokosz* and defence of liberties by more peaceful means, within the Sejm.⁹¹

So the region was ready to support the Commonwealth amnesty at the 1609 Sejm for participants in the rising who reacknowledged royal authority. Apart from one major battle, the clash at Guzów on 5 July 1607, no *rokosz* leaders were killed or imprisoned, though some temporarily withdrew from the political scene. The 1609 Sejm affirmed the working relationship between crown and szlachta, channelled through senatorial representation. It ruled that the 1607 constitution on free election would be published in all the *gród* court books, reaffirmed the constitution on foreigners, and raised the penalty for non-resident senators. The constitution condemning the *rokosz* at the last Sejm was thus lifted, though the clarification of the article *de non praestanda obedientia* remained.⁹² Thus those who had withdrawn their loyalty from Zygmunt III, such as Zygmunt Grudziński, were able to declare: "I swear my faith and service to HRH... and I will also seek to ensure that all those other dissenting and divided ones also offer their faith and service to HRH as their Lord..."⁹³ Like the regalist senators, Grudziński saw the importance of his leadership in healing the divisions of the *rokosz*.

The rising was not an irreversible split between elite and mass szlachta, but a typical tension between the three contributors to a mixed government.⁹⁴ Great Poland's senators took on the constitutionalist role of closing the gap between

⁹⁰ Słupca Assembly, 4 I 1608 in BK MS 306, pp.156-158.

⁹¹ Letters in BR MS 18, p.172-174; BR MS 34, pp.72-73.

⁹² *Volumina legum*. t.2, pp.461-463.

⁹³ Grudziński retakes his oath of loyalty in the Senate, 14 VI 1608, BK MS 1069, p.159b.

⁹⁴ See 2.2 on 'magnates'.

crown and nobility, as the various efforts of Jan Ostroróg, Aleksander Koniecpolski and Zygmunt Grudziński, the 1607 assembly at Koło and 1608 assembly at Szupca all show.

Thus rather than a break with the past, the *rokosz* became part of szlachta memory of their own liberty tradition; the initial compromise set out in the Wiślica Articles was referred to as a basis for noble rights, reminding the king what promises he had yet to fulfil, just as the Henrician Articles did.⁹⁵ The settlements which Zygmunt had negotiated with the *rokosz* became a new reference-point for the szlachta. Both the Wiślica Articles and Sejm constitutions, sparked by the need to contain the rising, affirmed mixed government as a system which worked. After the *rokosz*, only one Sejm under Zygmunt failed to produce legislation, in 1615. Resident senator advisors to the crown once more represented the interests of a szlachta defined by *ius indigenatus*.

The Sejm compromises of the *rokosz* period came up in szlachta defences of their right to elect their monarch, against proposals for election *vivente rege*. The sejmiki of Środa and Sieradz consistently defended free election.⁹⁶ Throughout the 1620s, the 1607 constitution on free election recurred in the Sejm. The 1632 election procedure recalled not only the *Pacta Conventa*, but also constitutions on free election from 1607 and 1609, stressing unresolved *rokosz* issues, including improving the laws (*korektura praw*) and most importantly the *compositio*, as priorities for the Coronation Sejm.⁹⁷ Many *rokosz* issues were gradually addressed and integrated back into the political mainstream – but not all.

⁹⁵ In the debate on *compositio* after the 1616 Sejm, the Wiślica Articles were cited as justification; *Dyskurs pewny o niewoley Szlachty polskiej którą cierpią dla Duchownych* in BK MS 1195, p.19b. At the Środa sejmik of 13 I 1615 the Wiślica Articles were used, with the *Pacta Conventa*, as evidence of royal obligations. See Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, p.34, p.92, p.213.

⁹⁶ as at Środa, 1622 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1616-1632*, p.143; Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.47.

⁹⁷ *Porządek na sejmie walnym elekcji 27 IX 1632* (Kraków, 1632), esp. pp.11-12, p.16; Sejm diaries 1625 and 1626, *Kopia przywileju Pod Rokosz napisanego de libera electione* (1623-8), on procedure for interregna and royal elections, and proposed 1632 Sejm constitution on interregnum security, in ARIV II-49 p.70, p.114, pp.184ff., pp.204ff.

4.2.2: Toleration or Confessionalisation?

The demands of the *rokosz* regarding domestic politics were largely met by 1609; it remains to be seen whether their confessional concerns received the same attention. The only study of the *rokosz* from this perspective concludes that church issues were not central.⁹⁸ Yet the *rokosz* has often been presented as the beginning of the end for liberty of conscience.⁹⁹ The clergy would not allow any extension of the Warsaw Confederation, as their declaration at Wiślica made clear; since “our forefathers... not only did not accept it, but protested against it”. Reluctant to face a *compositio*, they opposed suspending tithes; “this will make it difficult for the clergy to survive and to serve God [at] his holy altar”.¹⁰⁰ The Sandomierz Articles on toleration and confessional politics became increasingly important for the *rokosz* as it progressed; this would suggest that Catholicism was becoming the ruling Commonwealth church. Yet civil war did not polarise Catholic loyalists against non-Catholic dissidents; the role of religion in the rising was more complex.

Two related issues kept the rising going and were the focus of conflict for the rest of Zygmunt’s reign. Dispute now centred on the Habsburg alliance and confessional relations, as the *rokosz* objections to the compromise offered at the 1607 Sejm show. The first point of eleven was “that the Habsburg house be excluded from election to the Polish throne for the future”, the second sought to prevent the future Queen’s arrival in the Commonwealth, four further points discussed the role of foreigners, their advice and ‘plotting’, and the articles ended with a condemnation of noble titles. The other four points raised were on confessional issues; a request that a “*proces konfederacji* be realised” to secure the future of toleration, that Orthodox grievances be met, that the Jesuits be restricted according to the article at Sandomierz, and that “between the priests and szlachta estate a *compositio* be reached”.¹⁰¹

This implies that the compromise reached at that Sejm left the *rokosz* in the hands of a dissenter minority. There were proportionally more Protestants in the *rokosz* than in the general population, where a ninth of parishes and a

⁹⁸ Strzelecki, “Udział”, pp.183-184.

⁹⁹ Korolko, *Klejnot*, pp.101ff.

¹⁰⁰ BC MS 337, pp.243-244.

¹⁰¹ Articles distributed to envoys at the 1607 Sejm in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.324-325.

third of Sejm deputies were non-Catholic. Of *rokosz* leaders from Great Poland whose confession was identifiable, six of 16 were Catholics.¹⁰² The dissenter majority increased as numbers declined to a committed core. When the *rokosz* was declared at Stężycza, a third of signatories were dissenters, while non-Catholics were a majority at the later assembly of Jędrzejów.¹⁰³

Catholic clerics presented the *rokosz* as a Protestant revolt. In Great Poland, the majority of those rising were dissenters according to Andrzej Opaliński, now Bishop of Poznań.¹⁰⁴ In the eyes of the hierarchy, *rokosz* participants were heretics, challenging the spiritual and secular order together: “Defend liberty, respect your lords, and don’t spit at the heavens, but honour the Church”.¹⁰⁵ The Catholic bishops threatened participants in the *rokosz* with excommunication at their 1607 synod.¹⁰⁶ Rome itself condemned the rising through letters from Cardinal Caetani, legate to Poland.¹⁰⁷

Yet Catholics and non-Catholics were on both sides of the rising, as an analysis of Great Poland’s participation shows. Not surprisingly for a conflict in which anti-Habsburg feeling was so important, no Czech Brethren were in the regalist camp. Andrzej and Rafał Leszczyński, leading Brethren patrons, had no part in the *rokosz*, and Broniewski was one of its regional leaders.¹⁰⁸ Reformed participants in the rising included Andrzej Męczyński, Castellan of Wieluń, and Zygmunt Grudziński. One unspecified dissenter, Albrecht Rożyński, *sędzia ziemskie* at Inowrocław, also joined the *rokosz*. Prominent dissenters were also regalist, including the Lutheran Jan Roszkowski, Castellan of Przemęt, and the Reformed Jan Grudziński, Castellan of Nakło; non-Catholics need not join the opposition to make their voice heard.

Catholics from Great Poland were *rokosz* leaders too, sharing the commitment to toleration in the regional parliamentary tradition outlined in chapter one. These senators or potential senators included Jan Orzelski, Castellan of

¹⁰² 2 Lutherans, 2 Reformed, one unspecified dissenter, 5 Czech Brethren and 6 Catholics; see below.

¹⁰³ Of the 143 signatories identified on the initial Stężycza declaration, 56 were confirmed dissenters. At Jędrzejów 14 Protestants, 4 Socinians and 1 Orthodox composed 19 out of 34 signatures identified. Strzelecki, “Udział”, p.112, p.131, p.145, p.149, p.173, p.177.

¹⁰⁴ letter to Zygmunt III, 1607, BK MS 306, p.173b.

¹⁰⁵ *Druga pieśń o rokoszie IX 1606* (cited), *Tragedya rokoszowa na Sejmie 1607*, Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.127, pp.181-192.

¹⁰⁶ 7 I 1607 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 3*, pp.195ff.

¹⁰⁷ Caetani’s letters listed in BR MS 16, p.78.

¹⁰⁸ Other Brethren included the Latałski patrons Stanisław and Mikołaj, elder Władysław Przyjemski, Chamberlain of Kalisz, and Jan Ossowski, *sędzia ziemskie* for Wschowa.

Rogoźno, whose brothers were Lutheran, parliamentarian Marcin Żegocki, popular soldier Piotr Opaliński, later Palatine of Poznań, and Hieronim Rozdrażewski, later Castellan of Międzyrzecz.¹⁰⁹ The parliamentarian Piotr Łaszczyński was grateful “above all to the Protestant lords” for supporting the *rokosz* and stressed that non-Catholics were equals as *szlachta*.¹¹⁰ Jerzy Kryszkowski, Under Treasurer of Łęczyca was another Catholic defender of the Warsaw Confederation, who withdrew his loyalty to the crown.¹¹¹ Constitutionalists on both sides were tolerant Catholics, like Aleksander Koniecpolski, who spoke for freedom of conscience as a *szlachta* liberty at the Sandomierz Assembly, and Jan Ostroróg.¹¹²

The 1606 Sejm that catalysed the *rokosz* was divided between those who wanted to restrict the Warsaw Confederation and those wanted to take it further; the chamber discovered that the papal nuncio had called a secret meeting of bishops, to undermine the Confederation. Andrzej Opaliński, then royal secretary, had encouraged Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Bishop of Poznań, to aid the election of Catholic envoys in 1606.¹¹³ Yet at least two dissenters, Broniewski and the Czech Brethren senior Wojciech Witosławski were elected; opinion at Środa did not depend on the hierarchy.¹¹⁴ Non-Catholic envoys from other provinces were also among the future *rokosz* leaders at this Sejm: the Lithuanian Janusz Radziwiłł and Stanisław Stadnicki and Piotr Gorajski from Little Poland. Together, they sought to extend the Confederation by various means; further guarantees against attacks on their churches and property, the right to rebuild Protestant and Orthodox churches in towns that had been destroyed since the death of King August, and even toleration for peasants - “no *plebeius* should be driven away from his religion or forced to any other”.¹¹⁵ The royal offer of a compromise by renewing the constitution on tumults was not enough; conflict over liberty of conscience broke up the Sejm.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Środa sejmik, 8 VII 1606 in BR MS 231, pp.29ff.

¹¹⁰ Łaszczyński's speech at Sandomierz, BR MS 34, p.97.

¹¹¹ Sandomierz diary in BC MS 335, pp.66-67, BK 1069, p.126b.

¹¹² Sandomierz diary, 21 VIII 1606, BK MS 315, p.18. See chapter 2.2 on constitutionalist Catholics.

¹¹³ Letter probably before the 1606 Sejm, BK MS 306, p.198b.

¹¹⁴ Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.281.

¹¹⁵ Dissenter *Proces*, 1606 in BC MS 337, pp.42-46.

¹¹⁶ Sobieski, *Pamiętny sejm*, pp.58-66, p.124, pp.174ff., pp.203-205.

The whole *rokosz*, Catholics and non-Catholics, was committed to toleration from the start. The rising's adherents were "born szlachta first and Catholics second; the Polish Kingdom is not a *regnum sacerdotale*, but a *regnum politicum*." Poland had not heeded Rome's calls to burn heretics, but always tolerated other religions: "you young Catholics should be ashamed of yourselves... you wish to destroy the good intentions of the Catholics of old."¹¹⁷ The Lublin Assembly, before Sandomierz, declared that "not long ago, we lived in peace and harmony, Catholics, Evangelicals and Greeks, without detriment to either ourselves or the *Rzeczpospolita*", and sought to restore this ideal, asserting that believers of all confessions had the right to office, freedom from violence and equality before the law. "Peace among various Religions should be *iuxta statuta antiqua*, Religion should be no impediment to *sequentos Magistatus* in towns, and if anyone should be *sub hoc praetextu praepeditus*, he should be heard at the [Royal] Tribunal."¹¹⁸

Confessional harmony was a *rokosz* priority which the Articles of Wiślica failed to address adequately. The Sandomierz Articles focused on toleration, calling for the 1593 constitution on tumults to be extended so that cases of confessional conflict would be judged at the Tribunal by secular, not clerical deputies. The Sandomierz Assembly also demanded that Orthodox grievances be addressed. According to article 43, "all decrees, edicts and mandates *pro usu et ritu cuius libet religionis contracta* should not be invoked in *disquisitionem diversae religionis* or brought into any doubt". Article 34 stated the principle that szlachta of all confessions had equal rights and responsibilities in office; "Since all of us, although of different religion, people of the szlachta estates, equally bear all burdens *pro republica*, the very justice of *aequalitatis et iustitiae distributivae* shows that we are all equal *ad honores et praemia*, and are all equally deserving to be considered."¹¹⁹ The Sandomierz Articles thus sought to apply the Warsaw Confederation to ensure that dissenter freedom from violence, to worship and hold office were guaranteed, rectifying the failure of the 1606 Sejm. The *rokosz* assembly knew that Catholic appeals for toleration carried more weight; seventeen Catholic envoys from Sandomierz presented the article on this to the crown.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *Rozmowa o rokoszu*, IX 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma* 2, pp.125-130.

¹¹⁸ In Kalisz Gr. 245, p.569.

¹¹⁹ Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.302, p.304.

¹²⁰ Sandomierz diary, 3 IX 1606 in BO MS 115/III p.75.

The Wiślica response to the articles on toleration did no more than reaffirm the 1593 constitution on tumults unaltered. “For the preservation of internal peace, by which every republic flourishes and increases, we reaffirm *in toto* the constitution *anni 1593 de tumultibus*, however regarding the information on difference in office, which was presented before the tribunal during the time of our absence, now during our presence in our Kingdom, we return to the ancient laws, and therefore this constitution shall remain in force until the shortly forthcoming Sejm, where it will be fundamentally agreed on by consensus.”¹²¹ This did not meet the demands made at Sandomierz to extend the Warsaw Confederation.

Catholics would not have been motivated by religious liberty alone to join the *rokosz*; was ‘political’ change their motivation?¹²² These aims were closely connected; *rokosz* polemicists stressed that the royal guarantee of toleration was part of the *Pacta Conventa*, which Zygmunt III was breaking, and also a matter of public peace. “Your rights have been greatly altered, when else but now, under Zygmunt’s rule; you have lost the foremost pillar of your rights [the Henrician Articles], and the second [guarantee] of your rights, the Confederation.”¹²³ Limiting the political influence of the Roman Church was another priority for the *rokosz*. Catholics and Protestants could share this goal, as their attitudes to the Habsburgs, Jesuits, and Catholic hierarchy in Rome and the *Rzeczpospolita* all show.

Commonwealth Catholics as well as dissenters felt the impact of Habsburg efforts to extend the Catholic Reformation just over their southern border, in a context when confessional leagues were being formed across the Holy Roman Empire, by Protestants in 1608 and Catholics in 1609. Participants in the rising from all churches united against post-Tridentine confessional ‘absolutism’ on the Habsburg model. Some even argued that secular senators should have a vote in electing the spiritual ones, that is, bishops.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.313.

¹²² Strzelecki, “Udział”, pp.102-103.

¹²³ *Trąba wolności*, IV 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, pp.357-358.

¹²⁴ *Przestroga i sposób na przyszłe naprawy Rzeczypospolitej*, VIII 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, p.462.

Great Poland was less involved in the *rokosz* precisely because the province had voted for a Habsburg. Yet the region was becoming aware of the impact of Habsburg confessional politics as more Czech Brethren and other exiles settled in the region from their lands. Czech Brother Marcin Broniewski argued at Sandomierz that some clergy “were more concerned with politics than the gospel and indeed doing no more than extol *absolutum dominium*, breaking *praesentam reipublicae statum legibus temperatum* and driving out all good custom, which at any other time would be punished”.¹²⁵

For the *rokosz*, the Jesuits symbolised an alien Catholic potential to undermine not only the Commonwealth szlachta but also its existing clergy. Catholics composed the article on the Jesuits at Sandomierz, which called for their expulsion.¹²⁶ Article 30 stated that the Jesuits must not be involved in secular issues; “they preach *absolutum dominium* in their sermons, destroy the law, our freedoms and order in our republic, encourage people to tumults and sedition”. They were to leave the royal court and “foreigners of that religion should leave the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania within 12 weeks by royal edict” on pain of a 1000 złoty fine. They were to be forced to sell their property within two years, restricted to live and worship in eight major cities, with Poznań and Kalisz heading the list, facing exile if they did not comply.¹²⁷

The Jesuits were blamed for buying up existing privileges, hospitals and schools, and inciting their students to cause tumults.¹²⁸ The rising’s adherents were concerned about the new Order taking over Catholic and Orthodox land and livings.¹²⁹ The Jesuits were opposed as foreigners in the church sphere, just as defenders of *ius indigenatus* opposed foreign influence in the secular sphere; both encroached on the jurisdictions of Commonwealth leaders. Advocates of the *rokosz* worried that the Jesuits had the ear of the king, displacing his senator advisors, both secular and spiritual.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ *Rokosz* agenda read by Broniewski in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.288.

¹²⁶ Strzelecki, “Udział”, p.176.

¹²⁷ Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.301.

¹²⁸ Sandomierz Articles in BK MS 315, p.38.

¹²⁹ *Przestroga*, VIII 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma* 2, p.471.

¹³⁰ *Trąba na pospolite ruszenie przeciw Jezuitom*, I 1607 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma* 3, p.259; *rokosz* votum after Guzów, idem., *Pisma* 1, pp.290-291.

The Jesuits, “like the Teutonic Knights”, appeared bent on extending the long arm of the Pope in Poland.¹³¹ As “the King’s secret advisors and directors in all matters”, they were persuading Poland into the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire; foreign affairs were controlled from Rome, not Warsaw.¹³² For *rokosz* leaders, “Jesuits are the Austrian counsels in the *Rzeczpospolita*”. One *rokosz* participant blamed the Hungarian Jesuits for advising the Habsburgs to take churches away from dissenters.¹³³ Jesuits were often confessors to pro-Habsburg nobles, and Archduke Maximilian, himself recently made Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, asked Jesuit court preacher Piotr Skarga to preach in favour of him, so the connection was visible.¹³⁴ Though these international ambitions were exaggerated, the Jesuits drove the Catholic Reformation and thus provoked resistance in Great Poland and other provinces, also outside the *rokosz*, as chapter three has shown.

The Jesuits symbolised foreign and Roman interference in the *Rzeczpospolita*, though in fact less than 10% of Jesuits in Poland during the rising were foreigners.¹³⁵ Skarga’s response to the Sandomierz Article on the Jesuits argued that it was against their Rule to mix in secular matters and they did not condone absolutism but merely strong monarchy. Priests should not take power, but teach others how to wield it.¹³⁶ Still, the Jesuits were blamed for altering the character of Polish Catholicism; before they came, Catholics had defended themselves against Papal incursions on their sovereignty, but now “Jesuit tyranny” was undermining religious peace.¹³⁷

The szlachta at Sandomierz also sought to limit the power of Rome, and all clergy, by settling a *compositio inter status*, as articles 49 to 55 show.¹³⁸ ‘External’ Roman Catholicism which infringed on the szlachta right to rule was the *rokosz* target. Legal appeals and the transfer of annates to Rome should end. According to Sandomierz Article 38, the Papal legate was not to overshadow the Polish Primate, who was upstaged by the former’s presence at

¹³¹ *Votum* from Sandomierz, VIII 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.372.

¹³² Response to regalist Kryski’s attack on Stężyca, VII 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, pp.341-342.

¹³³ Herburt at Lublin, BR MS 18, pp.14-15; *rokosz votum* after Guzów, Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 1*, p.291.

¹³⁴ Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp.208-214.

¹³⁵ 40 of 570 Jesuits; Stanisław Załęski, “Rokosz Zebrzydowskiego i Jezuici” in *PP 58* (1898), pp.48-64, (p.52, p.59).

¹³⁶ In Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 3*, pp.94ff.

¹³⁷ *Rozmowa o rokoszu*, IX 1606 in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma 2*, pp.132-136; *Jezuici i inszym duchownym respons*, VIII or IX 1606 in idem., *Pisma 3*, pp.82-90.

¹³⁸ See chapter five for full analysis of the *compositio*.

court and the Sejm. Just as they were concerned about Jesuit secular influence, the signatories of Sandomierz, Catholic and Protestant, also sought to limit the Catholic Church's wealth in the *Rzeczpospolita*. The right to collect tithes needed to be resolved and clergy were to be forbidden from buying noble land. According to Article 50, "tithes which were not granted *circa annum* 1578 by szlachta name in all the palatinates, should be *in suspenso* until the *compositio* between the clerical and lay estates". Article 53 stated "that members of the clergy *bona terrestria ecclesiis quomodocunque adscribenda et incorporanda* shall not dare to acquire or gain title to landed property, neither by purchase nor by any other means." The Church should contribute to state funds, at least by the *kwarta* (military) tax. Conflicts over these issues should be resolved at the Crown Tribunal, with a majority of six secular to four clerical deputies.¹³⁹

The Wiślica Articles took the same approach of deferral to the *compositio*; "the matter of tithes from szlachta land, which have not been decided by decree, and are not *in usu*, we suspend from members of the clergy until the *compositio*, the speedy resolution of which we will strive for. We also obligate ourselves to seek permission from the Holy Father that appeals and cases between members of the clergy *in causis personalibus* and laypersons, should end here [in the Commonwealth, without appeals to Rome]. Annates, according to ancient law, should remain within the Kingdom, and this shall be effectively brought to execution at the shortly forthcoming Sejm, and in the mean time the matter brought to the Holy Father".¹⁴⁰ This was no progress compared to the previous decades of failure to reach a *compositio inter status*. So the Wiślica Assembly failed to address church grievances adequately.

Szlachta of all confessions were able to balance criticism of the Roman Church in the *rokosz* with respect for Commonwealth Catholic clergy; openness towards non-Catholics, and even the desire for a *compositio*, were not synonymous with anticlericalism. The *rokosz* offered support for Poland's spiritual leaders. The Sandomierz Assembly condemned the long vacancy of the Archbishopric of Gniezno which left the Polish Church without a head

¹³⁹ in Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, p.303, pp.305-306.

¹⁴⁰ Rembowski (ed.), *Rokosz*, pp.313-315.

from 1605 into 1606.¹⁴¹ Great Poland went further. The mediating regional assembly at Koło in 1607 not only appealed to their Archbishop but also stated that, as Catholics and dissenters, “we have only defence of the Peace and the ending of unjust *angaria in proposito*... and humbly wish for a *Compositio* to protect both sides [clergy and szlachta]”.¹⁴² Local *rokosz* leader Piotr Łaszczyński, a Catholic who had spoken in favour of toleration, defended the parish clergy. When Stanisław Stadnicki, a *rokosz* activist from Little Poland, complained about an abbot who exploited his peasants, Łaszczyński responded that “I never had a parish priest like that, though I only paid him two *grzywna* a year”.¹⁴³

The end of the rising did not mean unilateral Catholic dominance. The *rokosz* commitment to toleration and curbing the power of Rome continued to find political expression after the rising. During and after the rising Catholics and non-Catholics continued to work together as *dissidentes in religione*, sharing the vision of a Commonwealth church closer to the szlachta than to Rome, as chapter three has shown. Zygmunt received a clear warning not to push his szlachta too far. After the *rokosz*, church returns declined and dissenter foundations increased, and Great Poland’s Protestants remained well represented in office, as chapter two explained. Zygmunt’s concession that a *compositio* was needed kept the issue alive, just as the debate on election *vivente rege* was sustained in the secular sphere. Crown secretary Lipski, arguing against the settlement a decade later, recalled the 1607 Sejm constitution which had suspended tithes until an agreement was reached.¹⁴⁴ In the 1620s, the Sejm referred back to the promise of a *compositio* made in the Wiślica Articles.¹⁴⁵

The Confederation and *compositio*, as well as provision for the Orthodox and a *proces konfederacji* through consolidating the law on tumults, were all realised under Władysław IV. The Warsaw Confederation was reaffirmed with broader szlachta support in 1632, as shown in chapter one. Władysław addressed Orthodox grievances and tumults at the 1635 Sejm. In this year he enacted what the szlachta had been demanding for decades; a *compositio inter status*,

¹⁴¹ Sandomierz diary in BO MS 115/III p.49b, p.51.

¹⁴² *Uniwersał Kolski* in BK MS 315, p.96b.

¹⁴³ Sandomierz diary, BK MS 316, p.43b.

¹⁴⁴ Lipski, *Decas questionorum*, p.57, pp.149ff.; see chapter 3.1.1 for the *compositio*.

¹⁴⁵ *Dyskurs pewny* in BK MS 1195, p.19b; Sejm diary 1623 in ARV II-49, p.28, p.30.

with papal approval. This important affirmation of religious plurality limited Catholic clerics in secular jurisdictions and gave nobles more autonomy to support dissenting churches, as chapter five will show.

The church aims of the *rokosz* remained integrated in the Commonwealth's political discourse, and were ultimately, though more slowly, achieved. Nevertheless, as the way in which the Jesuits were targeted as 'foreign' advisors during the rising shows, Habsburg 'absolutism' and confessional politics remained an anti-model and focus for opposition to the monarch.

4.3: Unresolved Conflict

Most demands in the Sandomierz Articles were met over the following decades, but the *szlachta* did not stop challenging the crown in 1609. A central issue still unresolved was *szlachta* control of foreign affairs (the Sejm was supposed to decide on issues of war and peace). It should be stressed that the relationship between crown and *szlachta* was generally good; they were able to govern effectively together, apart from the crisis years of the *rokosz*.

Criticism of royal policy after the rising, as before, was not confined to dissenters and was generally channelled through the existing political framework of Sejm, sejmiki and senatorial advisors, as chapter two has shown. Decentralisation was affirmed in domestic politics with a shift from conflict over whether to elect monarchs *vivente rege* to devolution of more power to the sejmiki. Zygmunt III learnt from the *rokosz* to make sure that the *szlachta* felt included in Commonwealth decision-making, and his son took this further, making a greater effort to improve confessional relations. The focus here is therefore on the open question of how the Commonwealth should conduct its international relations. Criticism of the first Wazas – father and son – still centred on the Habsburg alliance, and Great Poland played an increasingly important part in this.

The argument that Protestants rebelled for religious and Catholics for political reasons was raised already in the *rokosz*. Increasingly in conflicts after the

rising, dissenters were blamed for conspiring against the monarch.¹⁴⁶ This brief sketch of how dissenters contributed to the opposition to Zygmunt and Władysław will demonstrate how far non-Catholics were moved to international conspiracy against a Catholic crown.

The civil war marked a realignment of Great Poland's political loyalties. By the *rokosz*, the generation of Habsburg allies, such as Stanisław Górka, had died out, and szlachta who sustained the rising, including some activists from Great Poland, opposed the Habsburg alliance. Though the region was mostly loyal to the crown in the *rokosz*, the cracks of opposition soon started to reappear after the rising. Those leaders from Great Poland who began their careers during or after the *rokosz* were a new generation, who expressed their disaffection with royal policy by taking an anti-Habsburg stance. It was this generation which later questioned Zygmunt III's policies, making Great Poland just as involved in challenging the monarch as Little Poland and Lithuania.

Szlachta activists in the *rokosz* became prominent in senatorial opposition into Władysław's reign, including Catholic Piotr Opaliński, later Palatine of Poznań.¹⁴⁷ Other adherents of the rising, like the Czech Brother Marcin Broniewski, remained frequent Sejm representatives for Great Poland, ensuring that *rokosz* political ideals and agenda – including toleration and criticism of the Habsburg alliance – continued to be heard in decision-making. This is clear already in the Sejms of 1615 and 1616.¹⁴⁸ Thus in the following decades, Great Poland moved from the fringes to the centre of opposition to the crown.

Distrust of Zygmunt's Habsburg ties grew in Great Poland with fears of Commonwealth entanglement in the Thirty Years' War and its implications for confessional harmony at home. Zygmunt III initially favoured the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years' War, hoping for aid to conquer Sweden. By a treaty of 1613 the Swedish recognised Zygmunt as the ruler of the Commonwealth, but not their kingdom, and the conflict between the two countries was reignited in

¹⁴⁶ Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.8, pp.54-55. See also chapter 3.2.2.

¹⁴⁷ These included Hieronim Rozdrażewski, later Castellan of Międzyrzecz, Mikołaj Latański, later Castellan of Nakło, Marcin Żegocki, later Castellan of Przemęt and Brethren patron Władysław Przyjemski; see their PSB entries.

¹⁴⁸ See chapter 1.2.1 and Ochmann, *Sejmy z lat 1615-1616*, p.212.

1617 as Zygmunt refused to give up his claim to Sweden.¹⁴⁹ He condemned the Bohemian rising in 1619, urging the Silesian estates to support him, restore order and Catholicism together.¹⁵⁰ Zygmunt sent troops against the Calvinist Transylvanian prince Bethlen Gábor (1580-1629), a Turkish vassal who allied with the Bohemian rebels, and later in the 1620s with Brandenburg, the Swedes, and Poles including dissenter leader and Czech Brethren patron Rafał Leszczyński. The Calvinist *rokosz* leader Janusz Radziwiłł had led secret negotiations with Gabriel Bátory (1589-1613), prince of Transylvania during the rising, to put him on the Polish throne. Thus Bohemian, Transylvanian, and Polish challenges to Habsburg and Catholic domination were linked.¹⁵¹ Zygmunt was forced to neutrality in the Thirty Years' War, as opposition to his sympathy with the Habsburgs increased.¹⁵²

By the middle of Zygmunt III's reign opposition to royal and Habsburg authority went hand in hand in Great Poland, just as in other provinces. This was shared by Catholics and non-Catholics. The Środa sejmik opposed sending forces to aid the emperor, saying Poland could fight the pagan Turks, but not their Protestant neighbours.¹⁵³ Royal intervention in Silesia was questioned by Łukasz Opaliński, Castellan of Poznań and Wawrzyniec Gembicki, Archbishop of Gniezno. Other Catholics like Andrzej Przyjemski, future Castellan of Łęczyca also opposed the Habsburg alliance. Jan Ostroróg moved from *rokosz* neutrality to protesting when Zygmunt mustered troops against Bethlen as he crossed the Polish border in 1619.¹⁵⁴ Rafał Leszczyński backed the Silesian Protestants' appeals to Zygmunt III and welcomed rebel immigrants on his land.¹⁵⁵ Leszczyński's correspondence with the Transylvanian leader Bethlen Gábor is well documented; Bethlen even invited

¹⁴⁹ Wisner, *Zygmunt III*, pp.177-181.

¹⁵⁰ *Ira serenissimus Regis Poloniae Sigismundus III ad status Bohemiae*, 18 X 1619, BK MS 1638, pp.61-62; Zygmunt III to the Silesian princes, 28 X 1619 in BR MS 7, pp.366-368; Zygmunt III to Hetman Żółkiewski, 30 IX 1619, BR MS 8, pp.43ff.

¹⁵¹ Adam Szelagowski, *Śląsk a Polska wobec powstanie czeskiego* (Lwów, 1904), p.131, p.138, p.191, p.305; Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the frontier 1606-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, 2000), pp.271ff.; Konopczyński, *Dzieje*, p.231, pp.254-256.

¹⁵² Maciej Serwański, "Państwa bloku anitahabsburskiego wobec Rzeczypospolitej w okresie wojny 30letniej" and Ryszard Majewski, "Wojna trzydziestoletnia na Śląsku" both in Bartkiewicz (ed.), *Wojna 30letnia*, pp. 17-26, pp.87-108 (p.88-93); Szelagowski, *Śląsk a Polska*, pp.49-50; Zygmunt III to Hetman Żółkiewski, 30 IX 1619 in BR MS 7, pp.355-356.

¹⁵³ Byliński, *Marcin Broniewski*, pp.148-151.

¹⁵⁴ Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, p.45.

¹⁵⁵ Majewski, "Wojna", pp.92-93. Opaliński and Zygmunt III on border defence, 29 IX and 7 X 1619 in BR MS 8 pp.43-46; see Leszczyński's PSB entry.

him to his wedding.¹⁵⁶ Marcin Broniewski followed the Bohemian and Hungarian risings with sympathy, aware of their impact on Commonwealth politics. "I have seen however a paper from Silesia, which they wanted to send to the Kingdom during the sejmiki, *in certum* or in order to take szlachta who are concerned *de securitate* of their houses away from the sejmiki, that is, those who are committed to the field of *opprimende libertatis* and particularly *in Religione*." He traced the progress of international support for Bethlen until his truce with the Emperor in 1624, recorded the Środa sejmik's concern over Habsburg armies on the Silesian border, and followed the persecution and influx of Czech immigrants.¹⁵⁷

Some of Great Poland's dissenters had living memories of Habsburg dominance, which had forced them to flee their homes in the late 1620s. Krystyna Poniatowska, a Czech Brethren prophetess at Leszno, envisaged Austria as Babylon, a corrupt and decaying empire on the brink of destruction. "...this was that proud and rebellious house, shining without, and glorious, but within full of all manner of impurities, abominations, and impieties: it is that GREAT BABYLON, whose ruin doth now draw near... Observe but the doom that does attend it. Immediately there came again the former Lions, and with them a third Lion, white as snow; and coming to the house, they began to demolish it, and from the foundation to overthrow it, the White Lion assisting them with all his strength and power, until the whole building did fall down; on which the Lions trampling, cried out with a loud voice, BABYLON IS FALLEN, IT IS FALLEN! The Great House of AUSTRIA IS FALLEN!" The lions represent an international alliance against the Habsburgs, including not only Protestants from Hungary and Sweden to England but also Muslims - Turks and Tatars. The Habsburg Empire was implicated with the Holy See as the source of evil, conflict and destruction, ten years into the Thirty Years' War.¹⁵⁸ It is no surprise that Comenius was convinced of the value of Krystyna's prophecies of the demise of Habsburg and Roman power, though Rafał Leszczyński was not so sure of their

¹⁵⁶ Letters throughout the 1620s; Leszczyński to Bethlen recommending his servant Otwinowski on 23 X 1624, Bethlen's acceptance 17 I 1625, report on Hungarian dissenters 18 I 1629 and wedding to princess Katherine Hohenzollern of Brandenburg, invitation 6 XI 1625 in BC MS 367, p.5, p.110, p.116, p.121

¹⁵⁷ Letters to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 25 III and 9 IX 1620, 1 X 1621, 1 (quoted) and 22 XII 1622, 22 V, 3 VII, 18 and 22 VIII 1623, 9 IV and 5 VII 1624 and to Janusz Radziwiłł, 25 IX 1620 in ARV 1419, pp.161ff., pp.189ff., p.196, p.257, p.322, pp.325-326, p.452, pp.462-463, p.466, p.470, pp.501ff., p.522.

¹⁵⁸ Visions of 1628 in *The Lives, Prophecies, Visions and Revelations of Christopher Kotterus, and Christina Poniatonia, two eminent prophets, in Germany* (London, 1664), pp.29ff. Full text in appendix.

authenticity.¹⁵⁹ Besides Comenius, other Habsburg exiles like Socinian Baron Wolzogen also opposed ties with Austria.¹⁶⁰

Though members of all churches opposed the Habsburg alliance, Catholics like the Bishop of Kraków increasingly singled out non-Catholics as confessionally-motivated traitors, including Calvinist Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Radziwiłł was the alleged leader of Commonwealth dissenters in a European network against Catholicism, involving not only the Reformed opposition forces in France, but also Protestant Transylvania and Sweden. Since Zygmunt III was seriously ill in 1626, his death seemed close and these foreign rulers were suspected of plotting to take the Polish throne on his demise.¹⁶¹ No coup was in fact planned; the aim was rather to forge a new Polish-Lithuanian alliance with France via the French King's brother, Duke Gaston d'Orleans (1608-1660), who was himself Catholic.¹⁶² A Polish king who opposed the Habsburg Emperor could join a wider coalition against the Spanish and Pope, both within the Empire and in the parts of the Commonwealth where Habsburg exiles had settled.¹⁶³

Dissenter leaders would support a Catholic monarch who they thought could guarantee toleration. While Zygmunt's ties to the Habsburgs caused tension, much was made of the fact that Władysław understood the Commonwealth better than his father, having been brought up in Poland.¹⁶⁴ Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the Calvinist Palatine of Wilno, corresponded with both Bethlen Gábor and Elector Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg but supported prince Władysław Waza from 1630. Rafał Leszczyński presented the most continuous challenge to Zygmunt III's rule. He was involved in plans to put a Silesian Piast on the throne in 1625, in alliance with Catholic nobles, and also joined France and Transylvania in a plot of 1629, seeking to make Gustav Adolf of Sweden (1594-1632) king.¹⁶⁵ When this failed, he still joined the Elector of Brandenburg in the hope that Gustav would become the first Protestant ruler of the Commonwealth, but decided it would be better to pressure Władysław to

¹⁵⁹ Dariusz Rott, *Bracia czescy w dawnej Polsce* (Katowice, 2002), pp.67-68.

¹⁶⁰ See their PSB entries.

¹⁶¹ Jerzy Zbaraski to Marcin Szyszkowski, Bishop of Kraków, 1625 and Jan Tęczyński, 10 I 1627; Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.103, pp.146-148.

¹⁶² Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.54.

¹⁶³ Bishop of Kraków to Jerzy Zbaraski X/XI 1625 in Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.99.

¹⁶⁴ Wyczański, *Polska*, p.257.

¹⁶⁵ Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.34, pp.48-49, p.51.

advance dissenter interests. Rafał corresponded with the Elector through the Thirty Years' War. In the 1632 interregnum Rafał appealed to the Elector for military aid and support for dissenters, and in return became the leading advisor of his representatives. For this he received a handsome annual pension of 3000 złoty. In return, the Elector wrote to the Convocation Sejm that the Jesuits should give up their school to the Kraków Academy.¹⁶⁶ Yet Rafał Leszczyński finally backed Władysław IV as the clear winner.

Polish Catholics also joined the opposition to Zygmunt. From Great Poland, Jan Ostroróg also supported the Electoral claim to the Prussian fief at the 1613 Sejm, expecting financial 'compensation' for his efforts in supporting Brandenburg, another Habsburg enemy.¹⁶⁷ Royal Chancellor Wacław Leszczyński assisted Krzysztof Radziwiłł and worked to persuade the Sejm in his favour when he was accused of plotting against Zygmunt III in 1626.¹⁶⁸ Catholic Jerzy Zbaraski was a committed opponent of Zygmunt III, as his involvement with Bethlen shows.¹⁶⁹ Zbaraski condemned religious war in the Habsburg style, defending peace between confessions; "Poland is not Rome or Spain, at least we do not have the Inquisition here".¹⁷⁰

Opposition to the Habsburgs grew in Great Poland under Władysław IV. The Palatine of Poznań, Krzysztof Opaliński, a tolerant Catholic who succeeded Rafał Leszczyński as leader of the opposition in Great Poland, was pleased to see Władysław restore the French alliance. He criticised Władysław's Habsburg wife Cecilia Renata, saying she gave him bad advice,¹⁷¹ and, with Rafał's son, Catholic convert Bogusław Leszczyński, he opposed the location of Cecilia's favourite Franciscans in Poznań.¹⁷² In contrast Krzysztof received Władysław IV's second wife, the French Louise Marie Gonzaga (1612-1667), with enthusiasm, forming part of the delegation sent to collect the new queen from Paris in 1645. Great Poland's szlachta wrote to Władysław IV and his

¹⁶⁶ Correspondence in BC MS 363, p.55b, and Adam Szelągowski, "Układy królewicza Władysława i dysydentów z Gustawem Adolfem w 1632 r." in *Kwartalnik historyczny* 13 (1899), pp.683-733.

¹⁶⁷ Wichowa, *Pisarstwo*, p.297.

¹⁶⁸ Buczyński to Radziwiłł 14 II 1626, Radziwiłł to Kurosz and Buczyński 29 IX 1627, Buczyński to Radziwiłł XII 1627 and 15 VIII 1628, Radziwiłł to Kurosz and Buczyński VI 1628 in Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.119, p.189, pp.198-199, p.245, p.265, p.269.

¹⁶⁹ Roe's report, Bishop of Kraków's correspondence with Zbaraski X/XI 1625, in Augustyniak (ed.), *Spisek*, p.90, p.98, p.103; Zbaraski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł; 3 VIII 1625, 19 I 1626 in ARV 18610, pp.14-16, pp.24-26.

¹⁷⁰ In his letter to the Jesuits of 1619 in BK MS 971, p.26.

¹⁷¹ Opaliński, *Satyry*, p.36.

¹⁷² Their defence of the resident Bernadines in 1643 meant the Franciscans did not arrive in Poznań until after the Deluge; Sajkowski, *Krzysztof Opaliński*, p.84, p.178.

Chancellor Piotr Gembicki, opposing his plans for a Turkish offensive in the framework of the Holy League, without szlachta consent, before the 1646 Sejm.¹⁷³ By the second *rokosz* of the 1660s, the 'Great Poland opposition' is an observable fact for historians.¹⁷⁴

Thus under the first two Wazas, before and after the rising, dissenters were included in the political system and Catholics challenged royal authority; confession was not the determining factor in opposition to the crown. Rather than the *rokosz* of 1606-1609, the 'Deluge' of 1655-60 was more of a hiatus in Commonwealth relations in church and state. This combination of civil war and invasion split the Commonwealth once more, causing devastation far greater than that of the *rokosz*. The argument that Catholics rebelled for 'political' and Protestants for 'religious' reasons recurs in this conflict. Bohdan Chmielnicki (1595-1657) led the Cossack rising of 1648 which laid the way open for Swedish King Karl Gustav (1622-1660) to invade in 1655-60.¹⁷⁵ Facing a rising tide of szlachta joining forces with the invaders, King Jan Kazimierz Waza (1648-1668), who had left the Jesuit Order to take the throne and fought on the Austrian side in the Thirty Years' War, had no choice but to renew the Habsburg alliance.¹⁷⁶ By the Swedish invasion, the stereotype of anti-royalist dissenters had crystallised; Comenius wrote his *Panegyricus Carolo Gustavo* (1655) in praise of the Swedish king and a response to this argued that the Swedes and their Protestant allies would destroy the Catholic faith in Poland.¹⁷⁷

During the Deluge however, as in the political divisions of the previous century, both during and after the *rokosz*, loyalties to the monarch did not fall neatly along confessional lines. Protestants as well as Catholics joined the resistance to the Swedish invasion. Jan Kazimierz took refuge in Silesia, with regional leaders such as the younger Łukasz Opaliński. Other regalists leaders

¹⁷³ Letters in Szajnocha, *Dwa lata*, p.338, p.340.

¹⁷⁴ Ochmann refers to the *opozycja wielkopolska* in "Od stabilizacji", p.253.

¹⁷⁵ Czapliński argues Catholic traitors hoped to regain territory from Sweden, while Protestants desired toleration; in Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Zdrada Radziwiłłów w 1655 r. i jej wyznaniowe motywy" in *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 18 (1973), pp.125-147 (p.126). Wisner's response to this stresses Catholic wariness of Muscovy – an Orthodox threat to Catholicism; cited in Frost, *After the Deluge*, pp.49-50.

¹⁷⁶ Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, p.350, pp.372-374.

¹⁷⁷ *Apologetica contra Panegyricum Carolo Gustavo... ad religionis regis legisque Poloniae defensionem* (n.p. 1660) p.Aiii, p.Eib.

from Great Poland were also Catholics.¹⁷⁸ Yet many dissenters were loyalist during the Deluge.¹⁷⁹

Dissenters from Great Poland joined the Swedish attack on the Commonwealth. Socinian Elias Arciszewski, the Czech Brethren senior Jan Schlichting and Andrzej Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz, and the Habsburg exiles Comenius and Wolzogen, all allied with the Swedes.¹⁸⁰ Comenius encouraged Transylvanian Prince György II Rákóczi (1621-1660) to take arms with Sweden to defend Protestantism across East-Central Europe. Rákóczi did invade Poland, though he was defeated, in 1657.¹⁸¹

Yet once again in the Deluge, Catholics were also instrumental in opposition to the monarch. Krzysztof Opaliński was immortalised as the ultimate traitor to the Swedes in Sienkiewicz's famous novel *The Deluge*; he capitulated to Charles Gustav at Ujście (25 July 1655). Catholic convert Bogusław, Rafał Leszczyński's son, had forged links with the Swedes six months earlier.¹⁸² Bogusław commissioned Comenius to write his *Panegyricus*. Even the Archbishop of Gniezno, Andrzej Leszczyński, flirted with the Swedes when the Deluge began. Catholic Paweł Gembicki, Castellan of Międzyrzecz, stayed on the Swedish side.

So even in the Deluge it is not possible to speak of Catholic loyalists resisting dissenter conspirators within the Commonwealth. Yet it was during the Deluge - not the *rokosz* - that confessional relations in the *Rzeczpospolita* were severely shaken. Chapter three has shown that churches were destroyed during the conflict; communities of Lutherans and Czech Brethren emigrated.

The Swedish invasion represented the next grave threat to royal rule and Commonwealth unity after the *Rokosz* of Sandomierz; ultimately a more serious one; Zygmunt III had considered abdicating to claim the Swedish throne; after the Swedish invasion, the last of the Waza dynasty, Jan

¹⁷⁸ These included Jan Opaliński, Palatine of Podolia, Jan Leszczyński, Palatine of Poznań, Jakub Rozdrażewski, Palatine of Inowrocław, Krzysztof Gembicki, Castellan of Gniezno and Sędziwój Franciszek Czarnkowski, Castellan of Poznań. For persons mentioned in this section see their PSB entries.

¹⁷⁹ Wasilewski, "Zdrada Radziwiłłów", p.143. These included the Royal Prussian cities; Tazbir, *Reformacja*, p.241.

¹⁸⁰ See their PSB entries and Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Schlichtingowie w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1938), pp.33ff., pp.64ff.

¹⁸¹ Murdock, *Calvinism*, pp.276ff.

¹⁸² Sajkowski, *Krzysztof Opaliński*, p.227.

Kazimierz faced down another *rokosz* in 1665-1666 but abdicated in 1668. The following monarchs, who were not legitimised by their Jagiellonian blood like the Wazas, found it increasingly difficult to rally noble support.¹⁸³

The next civil war, half a century after the *Rokosz* of Sandomierz, goes beyond the scope of this thesis, but this brief sketch of Great Poland's involvement in the Deluge shows that liberty of conscience and anti-Habsburg feeling were still associated with opposition to the crown when the battle lines were drawn. Certainly dissent in religion was fruitful ground for dissent against the monarch, as the attempts to get a Protestant ruler on the Polish throne in the 1620s show. Yet Catholics were also part of this opposition; concern for toleration was not enough to explain their involvement.

The Habsburg alliance, as a symbol of international confessionalising Catholicism and royal absolutism, remained the focus of dissent under Zygmunt and Władysław, uniting Catholics and Protestants. This was the key *rokosz* grievance which remained unresolved up to the Deluge. Great Poland's support of a Habsburg royal candidate limited her role in the *rokosz*. Thereafter, regional anti-Habsburg feeling increased as immigrants from Austrian territory to Great Poland, responses to the Habsburg rebellions, conspiracies with allies such as Bethlen Gábor, and the Deluge show; that is, in all major efforts in Poland to oppose the crown. Commonwealth Catholics joined this drive from the *rokosz* into the 1650s; these included leading figures in Great Poland, Jan Ostroróg, Andrzej Przyjemski, Krzysztof Opaliński, Wacław and Bogusław Leszczyński. So loyalty to the monarch was not determined by confessional allegiance under the first two Wazas.

4.4: Conclusions

The *rokosz* was traditionally the last resort of noble protest. The szlachta used it to register discontent with their monarch: their aim was to warn Zygmunt against adopting the centralising model of his Habsburg neighbour. Rather than a catastrophe, the rising was a restorative check, providing an outlet for noble resentments, from which the king learnt. After it, Zygmunt III ruled for over two decades; he and his son Władysław IV worked with their whole

¹⁸³ See Frost, "Obsequious".

szlachta, gradually meeting most *rokosz* demands. These reaffirmed a working Commonwealth model of devolved religious and political authority. Great Poland's distance from both *rokosz* and regalists put her leaders in a unique position to restore this balance; in effect the region took on the constitutionalist position, mediating between crown and szlachta.

Many of the 1606 Sandomierz Articles which stated the reasons to rise became Commonwealth orthodoxy, through compromise with the crown drawn up by regalists gathering at Wiślica and in the Sejms which met during the *rokosz* period. This included commitment to royal election by the szlachta, not *vivente rege*, the senators' role as szlachta representatives and szlachta status through the *ius indigenatus*. As *rokosz* leaders advanced in their careers, those issues that Zygmunt failed to resolve stayed on the political agenda to be settled by his son. Dissenters and tolerant Catholics were most active in and after the *rokosz*, challenging royal interest in the Habsburg model of centralised state and church authority and defending the szlachta's right to confessional self-determination.

Great Poland was increasingly active in this opposition as the province moved away from their initial support for Archduke Maximilian. Under Władysław, relations with the king improved as he gave them what they wanted most; assured freedom of confession with new legislation on the Orthodox and tumults and a *compositio* settlement, acknowledged by Rome, and a shift in Commonwealth alliances away from the Habsburgs. This restoration of understanding between crown and the whole szlachta only broke down into civil war under Zygmunt's son Jan Kazimierz, in the Deluge. Thus the confessional pluralism explained in chapters one and three, with sustained political support as shown in chapter two, remained the general szlachta model for church politics during and after the *rokosz*.

The *rokosz* was thus not the end of szlachta liberty or liberty of conscience; the 1573 ideals that caused the szlachta to rise remained the driving political principles of the *Rzeczpospolita*. Instead of Habsburg Catholicism, the Commonwealth chose a clear delineation of power between church and state, as the next chapter on the *compositio inter status* will show.

5. *Compositio inter status*

The ideals and debates of 1573 were not crushed with the end of the Rokosz of Sandomierz; one aim of the 'execution of the laws' movement was realised after Zygmunt III's death, on the accession of Władysław IV. The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 already included a clause calling for a *compositio inter status*, a settlement between the clerical and noble estates, directly following the article on toleration. So szlachta from all churches clearly associated defending their confessional freedom with defending noble rights against the Catholic hierarchy. "And since to achieve peace, much depends on limiting the differences *inter Status*, and between the spiritual and secular estates there is no small difference *de rebus politicis temporalibus*: we all promise *componere* these at the forthcoming *Electionis* Sejm."¹ This statement set the pattern for decades to come; successive monarchs affirmed the Confederation, but settlement of clerical and noble jurisdictions was always just around the corner, to be decided at the next Sejm.

The *compositio* has received surprisingly little attention in literature on the period, in contrast to the repeated references to *compositio* (as in sejmiki instructions) made by contemporaries.² The settlement changed the relationship between church and state, regulating conflicts of authority between priests and szlachta and increasing secular control over the Roman clergy. Thus the *compositio* was important for dissenters, since it helped them to support non-Catholic churches, but also for Catholics, since it better enabled all szlachta to defend their interests against those of the Roman Church.

The roots of the *compositio inter status* are traceable as far back as the conciliarist desire to curb papal power. The aim was to broaden and devolve church leadership; more decisions were to be taken within the *Rzeczpospolita*, whether by bishops or by clergy and szlachta in the Crown Tribunal.³ The settlement defined the limits of church power in two key areas – property and

¹ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.124.

² The exception is an essay by Jan Dziegielewski, "Sprawa *compositio inter status*" in *KH* 90 nr. 1 (1983), pp.81-91.

³ See chapter 3.2 on conciliarism.

jurisdiction. According to the *compositio*, no land could be sold by the szlachta to the clergy, and controversies over the right to tithes were to be settled in secular courts. Legal cases involving clergy had to be resolved with the involvement of secular judges, within Commonwealth borders and not by Rome.

The *compositio* showed how the rulers of the *Rzeczpospolita*, crown and szlachta, thought they should share power with their majority church. This was not a model of confessionalisation in Schilling's sense of an alliance between central state and church authority. Instead, the settlement with the Catholic Church was concluded within the Commonwealth framework. The influence of Pope and hierarchy was to be limited just as the crown and Senate were balanced by the szlachta in a mixed government. This chapter will explain the origins and resolution of the settlement in the Sejm, and its application through the courts, to show what impact it had on church-state relations.

Progress was slow; it took a lifetime of piecemeal changes before a newly elected king, who would also gain from defining secular against spiritual authority, pushed the settlement through. The main laws which the Sejm approved to regulate relations between clergy and szlachta were these:

Property	Jurisdiction
1567, 1569, 1607 annates to remain within the <i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	1565 <i>gród</i> courts will not enforce the decisions of ecclesiastical courts
1588, 1635 ban on alienation of Commonwealth land to clergy	1589 no more than 6 clerical deputies allowed on Crown Tribunal
1607 clergy's own heritable land is subject to tax and secular law	1607 no appeals to Rome in cases between szlachta and clergy
1633 cases involving peasants and clergy to go to secular courts	1616 6 lay deputies to judge spiritual cases on Crown Tribunal
1635 intellectual property: Kraków Jesuit Academy closed	1633 clerical deputies to serve no more than 2 years (against szlachta 4), and not to judge secular cases at any other court
1635 tithes to be regulated by bishops or failing that, <i>gród</i> courts or the Crown Tribunal	1635 no appeals to Rome for any cases involving clergy; Crown Tribunal as highest court of appeal

Great Poland's szlachta articulated all these needs in the run-up to the settlement. No sejmiki instructions could be sent without Catholics and Protestants agreeing on them first; limiting the Catholic clergy to szlachta advantage was not just a dissenter priority. While one third of Sejm deputies from the region were non-Catholic, whether Lutheran, Czech Brethren or Socinian, they enjoyed Catholic support for their toleration agenda, and this was equally true for the *compositio*.⁴ Sejmiki from all over Great Poland called for a *compositio* in 1604, connecting this to the *proces konfederacji* (application of the Warsaw Confederation in law and in practice) and general legal reform. The sejmik raised some points not covered by the Chamber of Deputies: according to the Łeczyca sejmik, Jesuits in particular should not be allowed to buy land.⁵ In 1606, the Środa sejmik demanded an end to all church land disputes against szlachta who held their estates legally and a suspension of tithes until the settlement was made. They were most concerned that some noble "property was affected or lost".⁶ Once the 1607 constitution was passed promising to conclude a *compositio* at the next Sejm, the Środa sejmik persistently reminded their monarch of this in its instructions right up until Zygmunt's death and Władysław's election, raising all the issues included in the final settlement.

The regional szlachta saw a clear delineation between the secular and spiritual estates as one of their rights enshrined in the *Pacta Conventa*, since the royal oath to uphold the Warsaw Confederation included the commitment to reach a settlement. The sejmiki of 1611 and 1613 called for "*compositio inter status and corectura iurium*" together, while the sejmiki of 1616 and 1618 associated *compositio* with toleration. The szlachta at Środa expected the Archbishop of Gniezno, then Wawrzyniec Gembicki, to assist in bringing about a successful settlement. The details were not forgotten; every key demand was listed again in the sejmiki of 1618 and 1622.

The szlachta of Poznań and Kalisz had their own concerns about clerical power in the courts. They condemned "the clergy in the Crown Tribunal, who hear

⁴ See chapters 1.2.1, 2.4.2 and 4.2.2.

⁵ Sejmik instructions from Środa, Łeczyca, Sieradz, Rawa and Wieluń in BK MS 1401, p.203, p.219, p.225, p.229, p.233, p.421, p.425.

⁶ Sejmik 9 II 1606 in BN MS 2723, p.628 and Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.278.

cases in other palatinates, rather than judging them in their own palatinate. This is a *praeiudicium* to the szlachta.” Later instructions placed responsibility on the whole hierarchy; in 1627 and 1632 the sejmik asked not just their Metropolitan but all bishops to make an effort to reach a settlement. The 1630 sejmik proposed specific constitutions to limit clerical manipulation of the Crown Tribunal; clergy should not judge cases involving their own cathedral chapter, or those only involving secular szlachta.⁷ In this they echoed the drive across the *Rzeczpospolita* to prevent the Catholic clergy from exploiting the Crown Tribunal to rule against non-Catholics, culminating in the 1627 Lublin judgement.⁸ Chapter two has shown how important dissenter representation in office and szlachta networks was; the *compositio* acknowledged this, ensuring a balance of clergy and nobles on the Crown Tribunal would guard against confessionally biased judgements.

Before explaining how this legislation was reached, it needs to be clear what the *compositio* was not. It was no manifesto for secularisation. Arguments for the total separation of the worldly and the holy were rare since all confessions viewed church and state as integrated, complementing each other. Contemporaries argued that “it is easier to build a city without foundations, *quam rempublicam absque religione constituere*”, going on to assert that though the Catholic Church should keep its privileges, dissenters should have the right to worship.⁹ Clerics held obviously ‘political’ roles; the Archbishop of Gniezno acted as interrex, bishops sat in the Senate and clergy on the Crown Tribunal.

The bishops advised the lay szlachta, usually calling them to approve royal policy. Episcopal *vota* preceded those by secular senators in the Sejm, and they also wrote to the sejmiki, to encourage the assembled szlachta to defend the Catholic Church or to accept the monarch’s proposals, when they were unable to attend themselves. For example Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Bishop of Poznań, wrote to the Środa sejmik in 1604 to protest against its commitment

⁷ Sejmiki 23 VII 1611, 29 I 1613, 8 II 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.404, p.418, pp.486-487; Sejmik of 13 I 1615 in BR MS 233, p.136; Sejmiki of 2 I 1618, 11 XII 1618, 13 XII 1622, 26 XI 1624, 16 XII 1625, 31 VIII 1627, 11 IX 1630, 19 II 1632; idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, shorter quote from p.46, pp.70-71, pp.142-143, p.191, longer quote from p.193, p.201, p.249, p.314, p.330; sejmiki 3 III 1632, 1633 in BR MS 231, p.296, p.304.

⁸ See chapter 1.2.1.

⁹ Anon., “Jakiego króla polakom trzeba?” (1572) in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma pierwszego bezkrólewia*, p.272, p.287.

to extend the Warsaw Confederation. Twelve years later, Goślicki addressed the sejmik again, now as nominate Archbishop of Gniezno, to rally support for war against the Turks and Tatars; "Asking the Lord God for good *consilia* at this assembly, that your lordships' hearts be moved to act together in harmony to save the fatherland, that the foreign enemy not receive such consolation as the failure of the recent Sejm gave him."¹⁰ For the Catholic clergy, both crown and szlachta were duty bound to defend their church; royal edicts on heresy were reprinted in synod records a hundred years later. As Andrzej Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań summarised, "*Rex et sacerdotes mundum regnunt.*"¹¹

While the archbishops took their role in politics very seriously, the bishops were less keen to voice their opinion. All Archbishops of Gniezno except Karnkowski and Firlej (who each missed one parliament) attended every Sejm under Zygmunt and Władysław and on average delivered *vota* at two-thirds of them. This was more than most ministers, who gave *vota* at 50% of Sejms; only royal Chancellors delivered more *vota* in the period, at 80% of diets.¹² Yet they did not always bolster royal authority; Archbishop Karnkowski's opposition in the early years of Zygmunt's reign is the clearest example.¹³ Though bishops also sat in the Senate, they gave *vota* at only a third of Sejms under the first two Wazas, constituting only 18% of senators attending the Sejm at all under Władysław.¹⁴

Nobles also fulfilled church functions, just as clergy held state authority. Szlachta were elders in Protestant churches and collectors of tithes to Catholic parishes. All noble patrons were encouraged to promote their churches in government. Catholic synods encouraged the szlachta to ensure that no laws detrimental to their church were introduced or upheld, which required active participation in the Sejm and sejmiki. Yet they also forbade preaching against the laws of the *Rzeczpospolita*; the clergy had to support the existing secular authorities.¹⁵

¹⁰ Letters of 21 XII 1604 and 4 III 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.268, p.483.

¹¹ Andrzej Szoldrski, *Sacro civilis politia* (Kalisz, 1636), p.23, pp.38-39; *Constitutiones synodorum Metropol. Eccles. Gnesnensis* (Kraków, 1630) cited decrees of 1523 and 1527.

¹² Jan Seredyka, "Udział arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich w sejmach epoki polskich Wazów 1587-1668" in Strzelczyk (ed.), *1000 lat*, pp.245-60 (p.249, pp.252ff.).

¹³ see chapter 4.1.

¹⁴ Bishops gave *vota* at 36.2% of the Sejms held from 1587-1648; Seredyka, "Udział arcybiskupów" p.149; 126 out of 695 senators; Hóldys, *Praktyka parlamentarna*, p.201.

¹⁵ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 26 VI 1621 (Kraków, 1624), pp.Ciiiff.

Dissenters worked hard to sustain their churches' influence on government and policymaking before and after the *compositio*. At the Synod of Toruń in 1595, they appointed protectors for their communities in each region. In Great Poland the protectors were Czech Brother Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć and Lutheran parliamentarian Świętosław Orzelski. The synod also appointed envoys to Zygmunt III, Jan Zamoyski and the sejmiki to defend the legality of the synod and dissenter liberties. Plans for this synod had already been made by dissenters who took the opportunity to network at the Sejm earlier that year, showing that the interaction between political and church structures was two-way.¹⁶ Similar co-ordination between synods and the Sejm occurred before the Colloquium Charitativum in 1645. Dissenters reported on their synods and cases of discrimination to allies in other regions, just as they did on sejmiki.¹⁷ Czech Brethren elders called the szlachta to defend dissenter liberties, for example against discrimination over dissenters in appointment to office.¹⁸ Ministers set up a special fund to encourage their szlachta members to attend the Sejm, sejmiki and szlachta gatherings.¹⁹ Church visitations also encouraged the szlachta to attend the sejmiki.²⁰ Dissenter synods asked their nobles to stay until the end in order to influence the diet's final decisions.²¹

Since contemporaries expected churches to be involved in politics, the *compositio* did not need to cover everything. It was clear that some conflicts between clerics and nobles had always been judged in secular courts. The Catholic Church was a major landowner, so clergy were constantly involved in the secular courts, for example in border disputes.²² Conflicts between szlachta and clergy over abuse of church property were unaffected by the settlement. The parish priest of Izdebnó accused the local lords, Adam Stawicki and his wife Zofia, of appropriating and ruining his parish house and the surrounding land in 1647; "they took over the vicarage *in habitatione sua*... more than once, while brewing beer, they nearly burned down the

¹⁶ Jarmański, *Bez użycia siły*, p.106, pp.124-125.

¹⁷ Examples include Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of 25 III 1620, reporting on a Brethren synod; ARV 1419, p.167; Zygmunt Grudziński reported 20 dissenters being sent to court after a tumult in Lublin; letter to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of 16 V 1633 in ARV 4808, pp.1-2; see chapter 1.3.2 for the Colloquium.

¹⁸ 14 X 1638 Synod, ABC 1502, p.8; 8 III 1640 Synod, ABC 1504, pp.28ff.

¹⁹ Synod of Leszno 28 IV 1632, ABC 1486, p.8; ABC 1490, p.71.

²⁰ Visitation to Ostroróg, 11 III 1647, ABC 1710, p.2.

²¹ 29 IV 1643 synod, ABC 1505, p.15.

²² Poznań Jesuit College versus Piotr Tomicki, Poznań Gr. 155 (1590), p.458b, or the Bishop of Poznań and the Latański brothers in 1606, Poznań Gr. 662 (1604-1607), p.877b.

vicarage”.²³ Disputes over borders between estates, forest and fishing rights continued after the *compositio* as before.²⁴ For example the priest of St. John’s Church in Gniezno accused local lord Adrian Radlicki and his son of cutting down trees on his side of the border between their estates. The border dispute had been going for six years and reached the Crown Tribunal when the szlachta took the law into their own hands. They brought in their own peasants to cut down the trees, beat the man hired to defend the woods, “dragged him to the manor house, and kept him there to hunger without drink or food... the whole night.”²⁵

Though it dealt with property rights, the *compositio* made no direct mention of the ownership of church buildings. Before the settlement, clerics had challenged church ownership by dissenters in the courts, as their failure to regain Międzyrzecz in 1609 and success in reclaiming Gołaszyn in 1633 show.²⁶ Ten years after the *compositio*, such cases still surfaced occasionally in the Poznań *gród*, with a similar success rate. Two Catholic parish priests, at Choryn and Skoki, demanded the return of their churches in 1645, one from Czech Brethren patron Jan Broniewski and the other from Lutheran patron Świętosław Bojanowski, who had also been involved in the Gołaszyn case.²⁷ The outcome of the Broniewski case is not known, but Bojanowski’s Lutheran church at Skoki survived into the twentieth century.²⁸ So the *compositio* did not end all disputes between Catholic clergy and a confessionally diverse szlachta, but did address core concerns of both.

The szlachta had their own interests at heart in seeking a settlement, just as their priests had in resisting it. Yet more than self-interest, the *compositio* was about principles; it inherited the Commonwealth conciliarist and liberty tradition, enshrined in the *Pacta Conventa*. Defining the spheres of spiritual and secular authority, setting out rights within limits for different groups, was typical of the devolved way in which the *Rzeczpospolita* was governed. It was no coincidence that in the year these measures were passed, the 1635 Sejm also approved constitutions on the Orthodox and tumults. Property and

²³ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.533b-536.

²⁴ Hyacinth Gomolinski accuses Wojciech Szoldrski of allowing his subjects to fish in his pond, Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.9b.

²⁵ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), pp.663ff.

²⁶ See chapters 1.2.2 on Międzyrzecz and 3.3.2 on church returns.

²⁷ Both in Poznań Gr. 690 (1645), p.177b, p.280.

²⁸ Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.39.

jurisdiction were the two areas on which clergy and szlachta needed to reach a compromise. The degree of overlap between the spiritual and secular made this resolution a Herculean task.

5.1: From Confederation to *Compositio*

The lengthy process towards a settlement shows how difficult it was to separate clergy and szlachta spheres of authority. The *compositio* was a matter of defining where religious and secular power collided, which was not easy in an age where religion was so important for the state, and in a polity that had decided that its ruling class was free to choose its confessional loyalties. The majority church in Poland for centuries was not willing to give up any of its privileges, while the szlachta was keen to defend its rights in the 'execution of the laws' tradition. Only when the monarch actively pursued a mediating solution could this tension be resolved.

The *compositio* raised questions central to the toleration debate, such as how involved Catholic clergy should be in cases that came before the Crown Tribunal, where tumults and conflicts over church property were judged. Legal appeals and money in the form of annates went to Rome, acknowledging the spiritual and temporal authority greater than that of the *Rzeczpospolita* which its non-Catholic citizens did not recognise. Ownership of tithes, land and control of peasants on it were more than matters of sharing worldly wealth and power; this income and influence was used to support churches of all confessions. Conflicts with the monarch in the *rokosz* and the following decades shows that defining szlachta property and jurisdiction against that of the Catholic Church was vital to making liberty of conscience and religious peace work, as the previous chapter demonstrated.²⁹

It has been argued that the majority of disputes with the clergy over church tithes, land and rents were caused by dissenter szlachta, in Little Poland at least.³⁰ Yet the analysis of court records in Great Poland here suggests that Catholics also came into conflict over church property and jurisdiction; this was not just a battle between Reformation and Counter Reformation. The fact

²⁹ See chapters 4.2.2 and 4.3.

³⁰ Wacław Urban, "Reformacja i kontrreformacja w świetle ksiąg sądów szlacheckich województwa krakowskiego z 1598 roku" in *Res historica* 10 (2000), pp.93-95.

that clergy quarrelled among themselves over tithes shows that this was not simply a 'class conflict' between clergy and laity. The Bishop took the canon and custodian of Poznań Cathedral to court for non-payment of 2000 złoty due to the cathedral chapter in 1589.³¹ Tithes were a sore point between regular and secular clergy too. In 1549 Pope Paul III exempted Society of Jesus from all tithes, though Gregory XIII limited this in 1572. Diocesan clergy and Jesuits conflicted over tithes on a local level, with extended cases going through the church courts all the way to Rome.³²

So the ambiguity of tithe ownership was something that both szlachta and clergy had an interest in resolving; members of all confessions could use the income to support their churches. This shows that the *compositio* was also necessary for the Catholic Church, explaining why the Pope was prepared to endorse it. What the *compositio* initiated was to provide a clear legal framework for resolving tithe disputes which was recognised by clergy and szlachta, and involved both parties in the decision-making process.

Interregna were flashpoints in the political development of the *Rzeczpospolita*.³³ By looking at the approaches to the *compositio inter status* during these key years the changes in church-state relations can be traced. What is striking is the persistence with which the szlachta reiterated the same demands over decades. The sea change in clerical attitudes which was required to conclude a settlement occurred when Zygmunt's throne passed to his son Władysław. The following analysis seeks to determine whence this change came; from within the Catholic hierarchy or due to royal pressure. The 1573 commitment to reach a settlement was renewed with each monarch's oath of accession, but never executed, since the clergy resisted all efforts by the szlachta to define their rights.

Through their sejmiki and the Sejm, Great Poland's szlachta had raised all the issues that remained on the Commonwealth agenda for a generation. The first steps towards a *compositio* were discernible already even before the Union of Lublin, and key causes of tension between clergy and szlachta were raised before Zygmunt III was crowned. Constitutions in the 1560s defined secular

³¹ Poznań Gr. 155 (1590), p.250.

³² Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia*, p.142.

³³ See chapter 2.1.1.

authority in the *Rzeczpospolita* against that of the Roman hierarchy. A milestone on the road to the 1573 *Pacta Conventa* was the 1565 Sejm constitution which stated that starostas would not enforce the decisions of ecclesiastical courts. Constitutions of 1567 and 1569 ruled that “annates should remain in the Kingdom for the defence of the *Rzeczpospolita*”.³⁴

A *compositio inter status* was part of toleration from the very genesis of the Warsaw Confederation; dissenters clearly saw that clear boundaries with the Catholic clergy were essential for confessional harmony and security. The 1570 draft of a constitution *De modo concordiae inter statum spiritualem et saecularem* was probably produced at Sandomierz, by the dissenters who agreed on the Consensus just before the 1570 Sejm. This constitution called for religious toleration for the confessions at Sandomierz, reform of the churches and tithes. The draft constitution was not passed, due to opposition led by the Catholic hierarchy. It did however pave the way for the Warsaw Confederation. Confessional issues were raised by the Chamber of Deputies at the opening of the Sejm, and King Zygmunt August confirmed in writing that he would not take matters of heresy to court. The draft constitution of Sandomierz was presented to the King. Confessional debates continued at the Sejm for the entire session until it closed. Resolution of matters of conflict with the clergy, the future *compositio*, was delayed until the next Sejm. Zygmunt August’s death came first, however.³⁵ In the following interregnum, the Warsaw Confederation of 1573 showed the szlachta’s commitment to the *compositio* and both Henri Valois and Stefan Batory swore on the Confederation, though they did little to reach a settlement. Under Batory, the 1581 Sejm raised the issue of Crown Tribunal decrees on tithes from szlachta lands; these were suspended until the next Sejm, setting a pattern of delay for the following decades.³⁶

One of the most pressing issues was church alienation of noble land. The constitutions to prevent the church from gaining permanent landed wealth from szlachta owners were passed “so that Poland would not turn into a clerical kingdom”.³⁷ Land ownership was power; nobles and priests were well

³⁴ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.52, p.69, p.95.

³⁵ Jan Pirożyński, *Sejm warszawski roku 1570* (Kraków, 1972), pp.33-50; see also chapter 1.1.2 on this constitution.

³⁶ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.210.

³⁷ Kłoczowski (ed.), *Zarys dziejów*, p.97.

aware that limiting church purchases of land limited their political influence, but this was more than just a worldly quarrel between estates.

Landholding was a crucial factor in maintaining confessional diversity, as chapter three on church ownership has shown. Patrons (*kolatorowie*) of individual parish churches were usually the founders or their heirs, that is, the owners of the land on which the church stood. The percentage of parishes patronised by each estate echoed the proportion of land that these estates held; just under two-thirds of parishes had szlachta patrons, a fifth clergy, and a sixth royal owners in Little Poland; szlachta held three quarters and the church less than a tenth of the land in the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates, so parish ownership would reflect this. Church patrons had the right to present candidates for the vacant benefice to the bishop, who usually confirmed this, honorary privileges such as a prominent seat in the church, ('*kolator's* bench') and were mentioned by name at masses on Sundays and holy days. They were also responsible for maintaining the church and vicarage buildings. Thus the szlachta majority as owners or estate managers of land was central to the Reformation. Even if they did not turn Protestant, szlachta patrons could keep the income from parish benefices – including tithes – leaving parishes without a priest or priests without an income.³⁸ Land ownership was thus as much a religious as a political issue.

Another key cause of dispute was tithes, which had been a bone of contention between szlachta and priests since the Reformation. These were collected by the landowners, mostly szlachta, who were supposed to pass them on to their parish clergy. The ownership of tithes was unclear from the Reformation onwards, when parish churches fell into dissenter hands. Tithes were a matter of economic independence crucial for non-Catholic churches.³⁹ These could be used to support dissenter ministers, or simply kept by the nobility, to the dismay of the Catholic clergy. Half the Catholic clerical contribution to the treasury also came from tithes, since they paid from tithes on their land into the *pobór* tax.⁴⁰ Clerics resented that their tithes were being diverted to taxation, "going to soldiers when the priests were in need of food."⁴¹

³⁸ Litak, "Struktura", pp.309-310, pp.455-456.

³⁹ Korolko, "Pogranicze Sarmatyzmów", pp.139-140.

⁴⁰ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.107.

⁴¹ Sejm diary 1628, BC MS 354, p.116.

Commonwealth law had helped to maintain the ambiguous status of tithes to szlachta advantage. From the 1565 ruling that ecclesiastical court judgements would no longer be enforced by secular courts, szlachta, particularly dissenters, began to keep tithes themselves. Based on visitation figures for the Kraków Diocese, it is estimated that at least 30% of tithes were withheld at the turn of the seventeenth century.⁴² A few tithe disputes reached Great Poland's courts before 1607, when these were suspended till a *compositio* was reached. For example Jan Gostomski, then Castellan of Wałcz and a prominent Catholic Reformer himself, was challenged in the *gród* for owing 700 złoty per annum in four years of unpaid tithes to Łukasz Brzeznicki, Canon of Poznań Collegiate Church.⁴³

This clarification began under Zygmunt III. The Warsaw Confederation in 1587 reiterated the promise of 1573; "since the clergy have not yet reached a *compositio* with the secular estate, in order to prevent harmful suspicion between one estate and another, we shall, according to our oath and the constitution, deliberate on, strengthen and bring this [*compositio*] before the new King during this election, before he is crowned."⁴⁴ No settlement was concluded in 1587, but the deliberations survive. The Chamber of Deputies produced twelve concrete demands gathered from almost all the sejmiki instructions of the Commonwealth, to which "their spiritual lordships" the clergy representatives responded in writing, point by point.⁴⁵ It was clear that conflicts of authority could not yet be resolved; the clergy were not prepared to concede anything to the szlachta at this stage. The first priority was that clergy should not buy land from the secular szlachta, alienating it from lay ownership. Annates should also remain in the Commonwealth according to the 1565 constitution; the clergy stated that only the Pope could take a decision on both these matters. The most contentious issues of property rights were insoluble; there was no agreement as to whether the *liber beneficiorum* should be used to prove title to land, or on how to settle disputed claims to tithes. Using this Catholic list of parishes would put nobles and

⁴² Kowalski, "Środowiska parafialne", pp.243-244.

⁴³ Poznań Gr. 1364 (1606), pp.10-12.

⁴⁴ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.228.

⁴⁵ *Desideria Stanu Świeckiego od Stanu Duchownego* (1587) in BC MS 373, pp.44-46.

dissenters at a disadvantage in resolving property disputes.⁴⁶ Control of the Crown Tribunal was another key point; the priests did not agree that clerical deputies should only serve for four years, like their secular counterparts. The clergy also denied the deputies' attempt to exclude them from the Chamber when secular matters were discussed, and argued that priests should be allowed to appeal to Rome in legal cases.

Zygmunt III began to face up to the szlachta demands for a settlement raised on his election. Most importantly, the 1588 Sejm passed a constitution banning the illegal alienation of noble lands; lands could be granted to the church for the owner's lifetime but "*successores* will always be allowed to recuperate their *alienata*", through the district (*ziemskie*) courts if necessary. Conflict between clergy and szlachta for control of the Crown Tribunal returned in a constitution of 1589, which reiterated that cases should not be judged by more than six clerical deputies.⁴⁷

Royal reluctance and clerical opposition doused hopes for a settlement in the 1590s; it took a noble rising to put the *compositio* back on the Commonwealth agenda. The *rokosz* years, which reiterated the concerns that were raised in 1573 and 1587, were important ones for the *compositio* debate, as chapter four has shown. Zygmunt III renewed his promise to resolve the conflict, keeping the issue alive in Sejm debates into the 1620s, but not enough progress was made. The deputies at the 1606 Sejm raised two of the central points which recurred over the next three decades – they wanted to request papal approval for a *compositio*, which would include denying clergy the right to appeal to Rome on spiritual matters or buy land.⁴⁸

At the Sejms during the *rokosz*, some issues to be concluded in 1635 were already introduced into law.⁴⁹ The 1565 constitution on annates was recalled in 1607; provisions were made to "bring this into effect" by collecting the money like taxes. Cases criminal and civil which involved secular persons and clergy were to be judged within the Commonwealth without appeals to Rome,

⁴⁶ Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum* surveyed benefices in 1470s Kraków. To determine the ownership of tithes, he used evidence provided by the parish priests, which differed from, for example, that of religious orders. Marek Derwich, *Materiały do słownika historycznego-geograficznego dóbr i dochodów dziesięcinnych...* (Wrocław, 2000), pp.14-16.

⁴⁷ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.259, p.281.

⁴⁸ 17 III 1606, Sejm diary in BK MS 325, p.606-607.

⁴⁹ 1607 and 1609 Sejms in *Volumina legum* t.2, pp.436-438, p.463, p.469.

and the clergy were given a year to set up a system for this with papal approval. Tithes were suspended until the *compositio* was settled.

The double status of noble clergy began to be addressed at the 1607 Sejm. These clergy were to pay taxes on their personal heritable land, not church property. These estates were subject to secular law and the Crown Tribunal was the court of appeal. No clerics were to have secular managers (*dzierżawy*) for their estates, nor hold multiple benefices and offices. Abbots and canons were to be szlachta, “of Polish noble birth, by both their father and mother, *indigenis Regni et Dominiorum*”.

The Sejms of 1607 and 1609 acknowledged that the limits of clerical and szlachta jurisdiction should be defined; the former called for a discussion between four named bishops including that of Cujavia, four senators including the Palatine of Kalisz and Castellan of Gniezno, and szlachta representatives, to resolve this issue on St. Martin’s Day and come up with a *compositio* document for approval at the next Sejm. This did not happen; the 1609 Sejm passed an almost identical constitution, also reaffirming the 1607 ruling on clerical benefices.

After the crisis of the *rokosz* was over, the impetus for a *compositio* slowed. In Zygmunt’s later years, the debate was revived in the 1616 Sejm, which sought to heal the divisions over toleration that had arisen the year before. A constitution on Crown Tribunal deputies stipulated that six lay deputies were needed to judge spiritual cases. Two years later, a constitution again provided for the *compositio* to be settled between the clergy and szlachta once for all – at the next Sejm “to the satisfaction of both Estates”.⁵⁰ The noble estate was more than ready – the priestly estate was not.

Resistance from the Catholic Church made the settlement impossible. The clergy defended themselves reactively, fearing that a *compositio* would undermine their existing privileges. The 1607 synod chose deputies from the Gniezno archdiocese to meet with the szlachta from both chambers of the Sejm and negotiate a settlement, while defending church liberties and laws. These two goals could not be reconciled; the synod of 1621 reiterated the same

⁵⁰ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.133, p.158. See also chapter 1.2.1 on the 1615 Sejm.

aim.⁵¹ Three Bishops of Poznań protested against the *compositio*; Andrzej Opaliński presented it in a letter to Zygmunt III as a “conspiracy of their secular lordships *contra statum Ecclesiasticum et Cleri immunitates*”. He was echoed by Wawrzyniec Goślicki and Adam Nowodworski.⁵²

Great Poland’s Catholic clergy sought to refute their szlachta’s arguments for a *compositio* by showing how the settlement would affect Church property and jurisdiction; the secular estates were encroaching on territory that was not theirs by right, which would clearly benefit non-Catholic churches. The 1607 and 1609 constitutions seeking a settlement “*non amor Patriae*, but *odium Ordinis spiritualis excitauit*.”⁵³ They wanted these repealed. The clergy blamed dissenters for inflaming the *compositio* debate, and worried that non-Catholics might gain church land. The two main threats to the Church as Archbishop Karnkowski saw it were heretics and non-payers of tithes.⁵⁴ As Andrzej Lipski, Custodian of Gniezno, put it in his 1616 “address to the estates of the Kingdom”, the Catholic Church was wounded by three things; by the Warsaw Confederation, which they considered dissenter plot to convert Catholics, by the undermining of church jurisdiction, and by their ‘bread’, the tithes, their privileges and immunities being taken away.⁵⁵ Tithes belonged to the church, not the szlachta; “*reddite quae sunt Caesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo*”.⁵⁶

That statement is misleadingly simple; it took decades of political wrangling for clergy and szlachta to define. The debates over church and secular spheres of authority under Zygmunt III show that both sides still viewed the *compositio* as a way of extending szlachta rights and limiting the power of the Catholic Church, and priests were well aware that the *compositio* would benefit dissenter churches. To get past the hierarchy, it had to be presented differently; the *compositio* could only be concluded when the priests also believed that it was in their interest to reach a settlement.

⁵¹ Pope Sixtus V to Andrzej Opaliński, Crown Marshal, letter of 2 IV 1587 in BK MS 245, p.190; also Bernard Maciejowski, *Concilium provinciale regni Poloniae Piotrków 1607* (Kraków, 1609), pp.6-8; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 26 VI 1621* (Kraków, 1624), p.Ciir.

⁵² Opaliński’s letter of 6 I 1623 in BK MS 292 nr. 65, p.261; Goślicki’s protest after regional sejmiki, 21 XII 1604 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.268; Bishop of Poznań’s protest to Poznań gród, 14 I 1633 in idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, p.150.

⁵³ *Na protestatją Wielgopolską przeciwko duchownym uczyniona* in BR MS 31, p.96b.

⁵⁴ Karnkowski, *Kazanie*, p.95, p.99.

⁵⁵ Andrzej Lipski, *Decas questionorum publicorum regi in quibus Ecclesiastica iura et immunitates Ecclesiastici status elucidatur* (Kraków, 1616), p.57, pp.149ff.

On the eve of Zygmunt's death, szlachta pressure for a *compositio* was even greater than on his accession. Some key issues such as banning clergy alienation of szlachta land and representation in the Crown Tribunal had been tackled, but most important debates were left open. The 1618 constitution was elaborated in 1631. Whereas in 1607, specific senators had been named to reach a settlement, this time they were to be headed by the Archbishop of Gniezno and include the Royal Chancellor as well as deputies elected by the szlachta and clergy from the sejmiki and synods.⁵⁷ This was further than the Commonwealth had ever got towards finalising the matter. The priests may have begun to realise that unclear jurisdictions and the indefinite suspension of tithes for decades since 1607 were not to their advantage either, by the 1630s, they had lost decades of income. Yet Zygmunt III was still unprepared to force the estates to compromise. The interregnum preceding Władysław's election provided a window of opportunity to push the *compositio* through.

5.2: The Settlement

The accession of Władysław IV was a turning point; directly thereafter, the demands for a settlement were finally realised. Władysław IV had learnt from the conflicts throughout his father's reign that the issue of the *compositio* would not go away; the szlachta new king was prepared to send to Rome to do so. Władysław was elected with broader noble support than his father; he was the king's son, brought up in the Commonwealth, rather than a newcomer whose hereditary claim was one generation removed. Thus on his accession, Władysław was not so reliant on the Catholic Church for support, as chapter four has shown.

Władysław placed negotiations with the Vatican for a settlement in the hands of Jerzy Ossoliński, his future Chancellor and close advisor while he was still a prince. Without Ossoliński's diplomacy and personal will, the Holy See would never have consented to the settlement. Yet Ossoliński did not decide to go; he went on royal authority, by order of the Sejm and with petitions from the Commonwealth clergy.

⁵⁶ Jesuit Laurentius Fauteus, *De Controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum et secularem in Polonia* (Poznań, 1587), p.57.

⁵⁷ *Volumina legum* t.3, pp.319-320.

The clergy, despite decades of suspended tithes, would only accept a settlement blessed by the Holy Father. The Church continued trying to impress its authority upon the secular rulers. Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Deacon of Płock, gave the clergy's address to the new King in 1632; "that your majesty might know who you are, and who the Lord God wanted you to be in his Holy Church". The king was to restore their God-given rights, especially to tithes.⁵⁸ The archdiocesan synod sentenced laity who expropriated tithes to excommunication, "*non obstante aliqua Constitutione, ordinatione, siue aliqua compositione*".⁵⁹

Great Poland's political leaders sustained the campaign for a settlement and provided the impetus to force it through in the interregnum on Władysław's accession, from Catholic constitutionalists including Łukasz Opaliński to dissenter parliamentarians such as Łukasz Orzelski.⁶⁰ The szlachta's election assemblies made *compositio* a priority; 16 Crown and six Lithuanian assembly articles called for a settlement.⁶¹ Catholic szlachta, who had the most dealings with their own clergy, were the most active advocates of this *compositio*; property – tithes and clergy purchase of land – was their major concern. The matter was discussed by commissions at both the convocation and election Sejms, but agreement on the details could not be reached.⁶² At the election Sejm, the Orzelski brothers and Jan Schlichting represented Great Poland on a deputation in which they stressed that Polish law and szlachta rights were more important than rulings from Rome.⁶³

In the Convocation Sejm on Zygmunt's death, Great Poland directed the debate towards the settlement. For the regional szlachta, annates, tithes and monastic holding of szlachta lands were the most important components.⁶⁴ Mikołaj Ostroróg, the son of Jan, Palatine of Poznań, led the offensive; "we ourselves can agree on a *medium* so that the szlachta would not sell their Lands to their Priests."⁶⁵ He was joined by fellow constitutionalist Catholics Łukasz Opaliński and minister Jerzy Ossoliński in the Senate. The sejmik of

⁵⁸ Wawrzyniec Goślicki, *Mowa duchowieństwa koronnego na sejmie warszawskim do KJM* (Kraków, 1632).

⁵⁹ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis 13 XI 1634* (Kraków, 1636), pp.187-188.

⁶⁰ See chapter 3.1.2 on his 1632 request that the Orthodox be included in the *compositio*.

⁶¹ Dziegielewski, "Sprawa", p.83.

⁶² Tomasz Makowski, *Poselstwo Jerzego Ossolińskiego do Rzymu w roku 1633* (Warszawa, 1996), pp.59-60.

⁶³ Sejm diary in BR MS 8, p.240, p.243.

⁶⁴ *Artykuły Wielgopolskie on compositio*, 1632, BK MS 345, p.44.

⁶⁵ 1632 Convocation diary, BC MS 363, p.55.

Środa was one of the most radical voices, proposing (with Sandomierz) that the Sejm should approve all church foundations.⁶⁶

At the Convocation Sejm, the same deliberations between clergy and deputies took place as in 1587; the old points were reiterated but 19 more were added.⁶⁷ The clergy were prepared to make minor concessions on the new points. From 1588 clergy had been forbidden by Sejm constitution from alienating szlachta land; the Sejm deputies wanted clergy to be able to be granted exceptional use of land for no more than 50 years, and the priests conceded 80. The deputies did not want canons to be given parish houses; the priests accepted this, except to support doctors of theology, medicine and law. The clergy now acknowledged that they ought not to interfere in secular cases at the Crown Tribunal; they reminded the szlachta that this was already stated in the Tribunal statutes. The secular clergy also had no objection to denying unauthorised regular clergy access to the Royal Chamber, to Lithuanian bishops being alternately of Polish and Lithuanian origin, or to cases of peasants which involved clergy going to the district courts. There was even hope on tithes. The Archbishop of Gniezno called for an inquiry into the “*onerosa exactione decimarum, fertorum missalium et aliarum pensionum, pro quibus passim in comitiis tam particularibus, quam generalibus ab equestri ordine acclamationes esse solent contra clerum*”.⁶⁸

On other new issues, the priests were intractable. They still claimed that “there is no other way of proving the right to tithes except by the *liber beneficiorum*.”⁶⁹ Contesting szlachta opinion, they argued that bishops should be allowed to hold benefices and canons should be allowed to hold more land than the estate they received with their office. Since some nobles were also clergy, some szlachta had family interests in supporting clerical landholding too.⁷⁰ It was clear that Papal approval would be needed for the core issues of property rights to be settled. Władysław, unlike his father, made the effort to secure this.

⁶⁶ Articles and clergy responses at the Convocation in BK MS 345, pp.42bff.

⁶⁷ *Artykuły in negotio Compositionis Inter Status* (1632) in BC MS 363, pp.52b-54b.

⁶⁸ Catholic synod at Poznań 14 IX 1632 in Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae VII*, p.96.

⁶⁹ *Artykuły in negotio Compositionis*, p.53.

⁷⁰ See 2.4.1 on clergy patronage networks.

Władysław IV's Coronation Sejm resolved some less controversial matters, before Papal consent for the most contentious decisions was sought. These further refined the role of the clergy in the Crown Tribunal. Clerical deputies could only serve for two years (against a szlachta norm of four), and clerics should have no part in judging disputes between clergy and szlachta at secular courts lower than the Crown Tribunal. Conclusion of the settlement was yet again delayed to the next Sejm; but this time a deputation to the Pope made it happen.⁷¹

The mission to Rome was sent on the request of the secular estates at the 1633 Coronation Sejm, since the bishops could not accept all the proposed *compositio* provisions. The envoy was to call upon the Pope to mediate, so that issues of contention between the szlachta and clergy could be regulated. Thus Władysław sent his close ally, the then Under Treasurer Jerzy Ossoliński, to the Holy See, fulfilling the promise made to so many Sejms over the previous decades. Ossoliński was Catholic himself, a great advocate of the *compositio* who wanted religious peace with Protestants and a peaceful settlement with the Orthodox.⁷² His glorious entry into Rome was accompanied by a train of 300 men, twenty carriages and ten camels.⁷³ Ossoliński received an audience with Pope Urban VIII on 6 December 1633, exactly ten months after Władysław was crowned.

Ossoliński's mission was also one of obedience, as sent by all new monarchs to the Vatican.⁷⁴ Władysław affirmed his allegiance to the Pope sooner than his father – Zygmunt III had only done so after three years, as had Stefan Batory. From Great Poland, Andrzej Grudziński, future Palatine of Poznań, joined Ossoliński's delegation to Urban VIII. Their secretary was Bishop Andrzej Gembicki, then coauditor and later Bishop of Łuck, who stayed when Jerzy Ossoliński left on 23 December to conclude negotiations on the status of the Orthodox. The *compositio* issues were top priority during negotiations with Urban VIII. Ossoliński's mission bore fruit; the *compositio inter status* was approved in almost exactly the form requested.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.378, p.382, p.385.

⁷² Dziegielewski, "Sprawa", p.87.

⁷³ Kumor (ed.), *Historia Kościoła*, p.217.

⁷⁴ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.7, p.19, p.41.

⁷⁵ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.8, p.20, pp.80-81, p.85.

As well as the *compositio* decisions which the Sejm approved on their return, the Commonwealth envoys to the Vatican also addressed other issues crucial for the place of the Roman Church in government and relation to other churches in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Yet church-state relations rather than internal church matters were clearly the priority in this deputation to Rome. Coauditor Gembicki was responsible for instructions from his primate and fellow bishops, which were also not part of the *compositio* itself in Rome in 1633. None of the Polish requests for canonisation of saints (including Jesuit Stanisław Kostka, 1550-1568) or cardinals met with success at this mission. The Pope did however confirm that the Wrocław Diocese in Silesia, which was no longer part of Polish territory, belonged to the Gniezno Metropolitan. Urban VIII also approved the statutes of Władysław IV's Order of the Immaculate Conception on 5 July 1634, though this Order was never formed.⁷⁶

The most important issue besides the *compositio* in Ossoliński's mission to Rome was a settlement with the Orthodox.⁷⁷ Like the *compositio*, this agreement also defined the limits of Catholic Church authority, to support confessional diversity in the Commonwealth, thus acknowledging that the Union of Brześć forty years before had failed to embrace all the faithful of the Greek Church. It had been discussed at the convocation and election Sejms in 1632, under Władysław's leadership. The Catholic bishops only agreed to a settlement with the Greek Church under pressure from the war with Muscovy, and then only on condition that it had papal approval. The *Points to satisfy the citizens of the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the Rus nation and Greek religion* were written into the Warsaw *gród* court records on 1 November, and on the 14th, Władysław IV was elected.

As with the *compositio*, assuring the Vatican that a Commonwealth settlement with the Orthodox presented no danger to Catholicism was essential for it to succeed in Rome. Ossoliński said in his speech to Urban VIII that no heresy or schism had affected Poland, and if any Commonwealth citizens were affected, they were "cut off from the whole szlachta". The instruction on this, referring to the Muscovy war, stated that Orthodox citizens should not be

⁷⁶ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, pp.38-40, pp.65-66, pp.76-79, p.82. On the Order, see 2.1.1.

⁷⁷ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.41, pp.56-59.

confused with enemies. The matter of agreement with the Orthodox took a special Roman congregation five weeks to settle. This congregation could not agree on giving the Orthodox any property, which belonged to the universal church since the Brześć Union; this indicated their awareness of how essential property was to ecclesial power. All other matters were however left to the Polish-Lithuanian King's discretion. This included confirming the ownership of churches, fraternities, schools and printing presses and the right to found new ones, freedom of worship and the recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy. As in the *compositio*, the Pope left internal matters to be decided within the Commonwealth.

The Pope was also asked to resolve another Commonwealth conflict related to the *compositio*, between the Jesuits and Kraków Academy. This had arisen with the foundation of a Jesuit school in the city in 1611, which was recognised as an Academy by the 1613 Sejm. In 1625 the Academy brought the Jesuits before the Papal court of appeal, for extending their educational remit to include humanist as well as theological studies. On 15 January 1634, Urban VIII forbade the Jesuits from teaching subjects taught by the Kraków Academy. This was significant as the Jesuits, the most prominent new Order of the Catholic Reformation, had become highly influential in the *Rzeczpospolita*, encroaching on existing privileges, which aroused both clerical and noble resentment.⁷⁸ The Papal order to rein in their educational ambitions was an important check on Jesuit expansion, affirming the precedence of a much older institution, in this case the Academy.

Thus the papal mission facilitated an agreement between szlachta, bishops and crown on how to manage church property and jurisdiction within the *Rzeczpospolita*. The 1635 Sejm concluded the process of realising the *compositio inter status*; it enshrined in Commonwealth law the decisions blessed by Rome, and added further provisions to make the settlement work. The Sejm's *marszałek* was Jerzy Ossoliński. Constitutions 12-20 tackled spiritual issues - including the Orthodox and tumults, discussed in chapter one.⁷⁹ These constitutions sealed the process of negotiation in the Sejm between clergy and szlachta that had taken decades. Some matters were

⁷⁸ See chapters 3.2.1 and 4.2.2.

⁷⁹ In *Volumina legum* t.3, pp.406-408.

decided in the 1632 interregnum, others were blessed by the Pope during Ossoliński's mission, and the 1635 Sejm constitutions formed a solid legal basis for the future of the *compositio*. The first priority in the constitutions was defining jurisdictions. From now on, no clergy were allowed to appeal to the Curia in criminal or civil cases; these would all be resolved within the *Rzeczpospolita*, with appeals going to the Crown Tribunal. This ruling was to be published in both the *gród* court and synod records.

The central constitution sought to resolve the long-standing differences between the estates on "the composition of tithes". The *compositio* did not end all disputes over tithe ownership; instead it set up a procedure for establishing who had the right to collect tithes and how they were to reach the relevant parish priests. Both nobles and clergy were involved in judging cases. The constitution on tithes resolved almost a century of conflict, involving the *gród* courts in the issue again for the first time since tithes were suspended in 1607, but this time to judge cases, rather than enforce ecclesial decisions (as was the case before 1565). The task of hearing claims to tithe rights was now delegated to the local bishops. If they disagreed with the bishop's judgement, the priest and landowner would have to work out an equivalent amount which the priest would be paid in money, to avoid future dispute. Tithes could still be given to the priest in the traditional manner, but then the priest would be obliged to pay from them into the *pobór* tax as applied before the settlement. Unresolved disputes were to be thrashed out in the *gród* courts with the Crown Tribunal as the court of last instance. Crucially, the *liber beneficiorum* was not to be used as a basis for calculating tithes, further reducing the Catholic Church's control of these payments.

The 1635 Sejm also addressed another issue of church-state power, which was related to, though distinct from the *compositio* settlement. The Jesuits were banned from competing directly with the most elite educational institution in the Commonwealth, on the Vatican's request. A constitution affirmed the rights of the Kraków Academy. The Order was forbidden from running any schools in either Kraków or the surrounding towns, to end the conflict with the Academy. The rights of orders to educate their own members and of the bishops to control the Academy were preserved. All other Jesuit colleges, however, were "not only affirmed in their liberty, but brought under

our and our successors' protection" in the next constitution. A later constitution at this Sejm allowed the Jesuit College at Rawa in Great Poland to buy land for 30 000 zloty, to compensate for other estates sold to a noble the previous year, in 1634. This was "in no way to be read as a contravention of the constitutions of this present Sejm"; the clergy would have no net gain of *Rzeczpospolita* territory.⁸⁰

Ossoliński's mission to Rome had catalysed a transformation for confessional relations in the *Rzeczpospolita*; it facilitated the resolution not only of the *compositio*, but other church issues that had been burning for decades, including relations with the Orthodox and Jesuit education. Rome's mediating role was crucial; the blessing of the Holy See was essential for Commonwealth clergy to accept a settlement. The Vatican was persuaded that the *compositio* would help, not hinder, the Polish-Lithuanian Church. The Pope certainly saw advantages in the *compositio*. Apart from anything else, Ossoliński's mission proved the importance of the Holy Father as mediator between noble and clerical estates; this was a conflict that the King of Poland-Lithuania could not resolve without his help. The settlement would serve the clergy, by restoring their tithes to them. The right to tithes would be set by their own bishops, though if challenged, these had to be determined by lay courts.

Rome approved measures less radical than parliamentarian advocates of the *compositio* would have wished; the 1587 proposal from the Chamber of Deputies that clergy be excluded from Sejm debates on secular matters, or Środa's 1632 plan that the Sejm should approve church foundations, were clearly not on the papal agenda. The Pope could not claim spiritual jurisdiction over the szlachta land and courts regulated by the *compositio* either, even if these were important means of supporting dissenting churches, though his pronouncement was needed to resolve the conflict on tithes and decide where legal appeals would end. The settlement with the szlachta, like that with the Orthodox however, may have been the best way in which Urban VIII could deal at a distance with the Commonwealth reality of confessional diversity under a Catholic monarch. The settlement with the Orthodox, an issue of competition from another international church hierarchy that denied

⁸⁰ *Volumina legum*. t.3, p.413.

Petrine authority, took a special congregation much longer to convince. This congregation realised that church property was a central issue.

Yet Pope Urban had initiated a process that also imposed restrictions on his own hierarchy. The Commonwealth clergy, who knew their local context better, had good reason to resist the *compositio* for so long. The legal process for resolving conflicts between priests and patrons was weighted in the szlachta's favour. They controlled the *gród* courts, and appeals ended at the Royal Tribunal, where clerical representation, though guaranteed, had been restricted by the settlement. The szlachta gained a ban on alienation of land to secular or regular clergy, and the monarch gained an end to appeals and payments (annates) to a higher authority outside royal jurisdiction, that is, the Holy See.

This became clear in the following decades. The Catholic hierarchy had not accepted the *compositio* easily, but could not disapprove a settlement with papal blessing. The 1642 Poznań Synod even attempted to clarify the limits of secular and spiritual jurisdictions further. However the synod could not achieve this; in cases involving wills and inheritance or legates, the decision of whether these went to a secular or spiritual court was left open.⁸¹ Tithes remained contentious; this synod wanted to publicise the ruling that szlachta who forbade the collection of tithes were to be excommunicated.⁸² The hierarchy was clearly feeling the effects of the settlement.

While the Holy See approved the Commonwealth plans for a *compositio* as a way of ending tensions between nobles and clergy, once it was clear that the settlement allowed these conflicts to be resolved in favour of a confessionally diverse szlachta, the Vatican reacted less positively. Nuncio Honario Visconti (1630-1635) supported Władysław IV's candidacy, despite doubts about his attitude to the church. But once the *compositio* and Władysław's affirmation of Protestant and Orthodox rights took effect, the next nuncio, Mario Filonardi (1635-1643) was moved to call Władysław IV "a protector of heretics and schismatics" in his correspondence with Rome. The whole Senate, including the bishops, rallied behind their king, and asked the Pope for a new nuncio;

⁸¹ *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), pp. Hiiiibff.

⁸² Fałka (ed.), *Synod*, p. 171.

Filonardi left on 9 August 1643 and no replacement for him was found until 1645.⁸³

Rome realised that the settlement was not being applied in its favour; a papal declaration of 23 July 1646 addressed Władysław IV asked for episcopal rights to tithes and land to be preserved.⁸⁴ So Rome now realised that the Polish hierarchy's fears that Catholic and non-Catholic szlachta would use the settlement against them were being confirmed.

In theory, clerical and noble roles were more clearly defined in the *Rzeczpospolita* in 1635 than they had ever been. In practice, no-one wanted or expected the spiritual and secular to be divorced from each other overnight. The szlachta gained what they wanted with regard to tithes, land alienation and the superiority of lay over Roman jurisdiction. Yet in a devolved Commonwealth which could only be governed by protecting particular rights, including those of the church, special provision was made in constitutions for both the Jesuits and the Orthodox. Would exceptions undermine the *compositio* legislation from day one, or could it really change the relationship between spiritual and secular estates?

5.3: From Compositio to Court

Great Poland had made an important contribution to the successful conclusion of a *compositio*; once the settlement was reached, the regional szlachta took care that it was applied. The Sieradz sejmik called for adherence to the *compositio* in its sejmiki after 1635.⁸⁵ So did Środa, but after a lifetime of debate, the sejmik was satisfied that the *compositio* was working and stopped discussing it in 1638.⁸⁶ The *compositio inter status* was no longer a matter for Sejm debate but of legal battles, as a survey of cases brought in Great Poland will show.

Peculiarities of Great Poland's regional context affected how the *compositio* operated. Apart from one regional provision on peasants, the same settlement

⁸³ Kumor (ed.), *Historia Kościoła*, pp.217-218.

⁸⁴ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 8 XI 1643* (Warszawa, 1646), pp.55-58.

⁸⁵ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.109.

⁸⁶ 1638 sejmik in BR MS 231, p.367.

was applied. A constitution dealing with escaped peasants in the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz had been passed in 1593; if they were caught, these 'vagabonds' could be put to work by their captors until their lord claimed them back, in which case they were to be immediately returned.⁸⁷ After 1633, when such cases involved clergy as landlords, they found their way into the province's *gród* courts. Most importantly, conflicts over church property were more fiercely fought in Great Poland, since the head of the Polish Church was the Archbishop of Gniezno, and the Metropolitan was especially keen to defend its rights, whether to tithes or land. Cases from other provinces were also judged in Gniezno *gród* court, including border disputes from Little Poland.⁸⁸ Thus the region is a good place to test how the new legislation was enforced, since this province was home to the head of the Roman Church in the *Rzeczpospolita*.

After the settlement, individual constitutions were passed to commute the effects of the *compositio* ban on land purchase for specific religious orders though the szlachta still kept control of these transactions by defining what the regular clergy could acquire. In Great Poland this affected Poznań's monks and nuns.⁸⁹ The local Jesuits were allowed to buy new land, on condition that they gave up an existing estate. "Since the Poznań College *Societatis Iesu* needs a church building and house and has no wooded land, *vigore praesentis Conventus* we allow that they may give one property to a person of the knightly estate and buy another *aequivalentia secundum suam commoditatem in perpetuum*." The Poznań District Court was appointed to ensure that the two properties were equivalent. The Poznań nunnery was allowed to do the same for some part estates, under the same conditions as the Jesuits.

The new legislation made an immediate impact on the treatment of tithes in Great Poland. From 1635, financial arrangements for tithes clustered in the *gród* court records, showing that the bishops were indeed working out a settlement, while controversial cases were resolved through litigation, as the *compositio* stipulated. Szlachta contracts settled the exact amount their local

⁸⁷ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.345.

⁸⁸ For example Adrian Grodziecki, Archdeacon of Gniezno, v. Valerian Mieliecki for over Kurzelów, a town in Sandomierz, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), pp.56ff.

⁸⁹ 1638 Sejm in *Volumina legum* t.3, p.453, p.460.

clergy would receive as a money alternative to tithes, which was not clear prior to the settlement. For example in 1636, Wojciech Węgierski agreed to pay the annual “*census*” of 108 złoty for two villages and his town of Rogowo to the clergy of St. George’s Church.⁹⁰ Another contract in the Poznań *gród* between Jacob Sierakowski, priest at Chrzypiec and Zofia Kuratowska, settled on the annual sum of 100 złoty for the village of Niemierzew.⁹¹ Sometimes earlier agreements were published in the court records to affirm the tithe sum for the future, as a contract of 6 January 1627 between Bartłomiej Urbański, priest at Modliszewski, Daniel Karczewski and Elżbieta Modliszewska, promising him 10 złoty on St. Martin’s day every year “towards the tithes”.⁹²

Gniezno Cathedral Chapter defended its tithe rights especially actively in court. Disputes were not always easy to settle; when the Cathedral claimed back payments from 1626 for the villages of Moikowo and Chmielnik, the case returned to the courts a year later.⁹³ The Cathedral claimed up to 2000 złoty for tithes unpaid, also by tolerant Catholic Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, in the decade before the *compositio*.⁹⁴ These claims continued to be published in succeeding years; Świętosław Strzałkowski, Archdeacon of Poznań & Canon of Gniezno challenged the regional elite for nine years’ back payment of tithes, including Zygmunt Grudziński, the Reformed Palatine of Kalisz.⁹⁵ Dobrogość Gębicki, also from Kalisz and a Reformed family, owed Andrzej Zajączek, pastor of the church at Stawiszyn, 15 000 złoty for the parish in 1645, ten years after the *compositio* settlement and 12 since Gębicki had inherited the town.⁹⁶

The szlachta defended themselves against church demands for tithes effectively through their courts, fighting cases all the way to the Crown Tribunal; only there, in 1637, was Jan Niałecki charged to pay 1000 złoty for the years 1634 and 1635.⁹⁷ A decade later, Stanisław Strzyzewski, parish

⁹⁰ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.27-28.

⁹¹ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.5b.

⁹² Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), p.100.

⁹³ Stanisław Jemieliski at 50 zł p.a. for the last two years, 1634 & 1635, Stanisław Zaremba and Jan Szyszkowski at 7 zł. each p.a. from 1627, 1636 and 1637, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), p.51, p.157.

⁹⁴ Teresa Constantia and Krzysztof Opaliński, for the village of Tarnowa, 2000 zł. for 7 years from 1628-1635; Abraham Ciswicki Castellan of Śrem, 30 zł. p.a. for the village of Grodziec, 1633-1635; Andrzej Cielmowski for the village of Kuchary, 2000 zł. for 9 years 1627-1635, all 1636 in Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.51b-52.

⁹⁵ Grudziński for the village of Robakowo; Jan Gorecki for the village of Węgierskie; Jan Munkowski for the village of Bieganowo are all charged 1000 zł. in 1637, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.189-190.

⁹⁶ Kalisz Gr. 271 (1645), p.229, p.337.

⁹⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.292-293.

priest of Strzelcen was still demanding unpaid tithe payments over eight years of 24 złoty per annum at the Tribunal.⁹⁸ Gniezno Cathedral threatened tolerant Catholic Łukasz Opaliński, then Under Chamberlain of Poznań, with a 40 złoty fine for not paying 50 złoty annually for tithes for the village of Głowna in 1642 and 1643. The case was still running four years later.⁹⁹ Another unresolved dispute that ran for at least three years in the courts was a Gniezno Canon's attempt to claim 5000 złoty for almost a decade of tithes since the *compositio* was settled.¹⁰⁰

Clergy in other palatinates of Great Poland were less zealous in pursuing their tithe dues, lacking the impetus and resources of the Metropolitan to support them. Examples involving leading regional szlachta include a case brought by the parish priest of Tykładowo against parliamentarian Władysław Leszczyński, future Palatine of Łęczyca, claiming 2000 złoty for tithes in 1637 and 1638 which were unpaid five years on.¹⁰¹ By the end of Władysław IV's reign, the new legislation on tithes was in regular use; many szlachta were still challenging their clergy. The nobles were happy to keep tithes, but reluctant to pay the money equivalent to their clergy as had been agreed in 1635. Szlachta including the Catholic Opaliński brothers were fighting legal battles with the clergy over the right to the income from tithes as late as 1648.¹⁰² So the new legislation provided a framework to resolve conflicts, but made it difficult for clergy to pin down nobles who refused to pay their priests.

Szlachta had gone to law with parish clergy about priests' upkeep before the *compositio*, but the settlement stimulated the resolution of cases which had been suspended for years. Soon after Zygmunt's accession, Kasper Gniński was instructed to "build a house on the vicarage land at his own cost and leave whatever he built on the vicarage land *temporibus perpetuis*" for the parish priest on his land at Drużiń.¹⁰³ Łukasz Opaliński granted an annual stipend of 20 złoty to the priest in his village of Igin in 1627.¹⁰⁴ As soon as

⁹⁸ Jadwiga Malczewska for the village of Głogowiec in 1647, Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.576b.

⁹⁹ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.654b-655.

¹⁰⁰ Reverend Jacobus Dubius v. Piotr Jabłkowski for the village of Mieleszyno, 1637-1644, 1647 case in Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.658.

¹⁰¹ Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.15b.

¹⁰² Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań versus the Opaliński brothers, 1648 in Poznań Kp.2 (1647-8), pp.118-119; letter of 27 II 1648 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.403; Elector of the Paradisi Abbey versus Samuel Schlichting, 1648 in Poznań Kp.2 (1647-8), p.149.

¹⁰³ Poznań Gr. 1332 (1589), p.79, p.872.

¹⁰⁴ Wschowa Gr. 55 (1624-27), p.929b.

the *compositio* was reached, priests claimed their stipends for the preceding years of uncertainty. Anna and Katarzyna Rozrażewska, daughters of the Castellan of Nakło, from a Czech Brethren family, owed nine years' stipend to the priest at Czerszykowo, at the going annual rate of 50 złoty, while Stanisław Kossowski owed six years to his priest in Broniszewice.¹⁰⁵

The *compositio* marked an important shift in control of the most important source of wealth in the *Rzeczpospolita*: land. The ban on alienation of estate to monastic orders was applied from the year it was concluded right up to Władysław's death. These provisions of 1588 and 1635 made direct land transfer from nobles to the church much more difficult, though sales to various church institutions did occur, with limitations, in practice, as indicated by the 1638 Sejm provisions for Poznań mentioned above. Since land ownership was so essential to the fate of parish churches and clergy, this aspect of the *compositio* directly affected the future confessional balance in the Commonwealth.

Directly after the settlement, the szlachta pursued claims to monastic land in the courts; religious orders including the Jesuits, despite the royal protection afforded to them by the 1635 constitution, were equally obliged to comply. Szlachta sold land to clergy with the right to repurchase it, (*wyderka*), both parties profited from the temporary sale of the estate. *Wyderka* was commonly used in the *Rzeczpospolita* as a means of granting credit while avoiding the church ban on charging interest, profiting the clergy. At the same time, the szlachta received a loan while preserving the title to their land for their heirs, but this had not always been recognised by church creditors. Jakub Taczanowski brought Kalisz Jesuit College before the Crown Tribunal in 1635, for his village of Taczanowo which they held as *wyderka*; the College was to return the land to him on pain of a 2000 złoty fine.¹⁰⁶ Albert and Mateusz Grzymultowski, sons of Tomasz, Castellan of Bydgoszcz, brought a case against Gniezno Cathedral, to reclaim their estates at Rotkowo, which they should have inherited on the death of Abbot Christopher Martin.¹⁰⁷ In 1647, Dorota Orsikowska and her fellow nuns wanted to keep the village of Bożewice, which they inherited on the death of her uncle, Świętosław

¹⁰⁵ Kalisz Gr. 262 (1635), p.13, p.60b.

¹⁰⁶ Kalisz Gr. 262 (1635), p.89.

¹⁰⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), p.70b.

Strzałkowski, Archdeacon of Poznań. They took the owners, the Młodziejewskis and Drzewickis, to the Crown Tribunal, but the court ruled that the nuns could not keep the village as this was “*contra statuta regni*”.¹⁰⁸

Of course regular clergy found ways to defend and profit from their property. The Dominican sisters in Poznań granted a house to at least two noblewomen for their lifetimes. The sisters complained to the court of the terrible condition in which the building was returned to them on Anna Koworowska's death; “in the first room upstairs... twelve or fifteen window panes are broken, also in one window in the attic”. The nuns still managed to use the property, since six years later the house was restored to them on the death of Urszula Broniewska.¹⁰⁹ The Dominican prior of Poznań, Wojciech Margoń, took Michał Chokwiński to the Crown Tribunal for preventing the monks from taking possession of villages in the Nakło district, left to them by one of their Order, Szczęsny Włoszynowski. Chokwiński was supposed to vacate the estates, since the usufruct belonged to the Dominicans.¹¹⁰ Jan Korzbok Lancki and Stefan Chrzastkowski owed Jesuit Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki ten and three thousand złoty respectively.¹¹¹ As with tithes, it is to be expected that these cases were not easy to resolve.

After the settlement on monastic orders, the szlachta challenged landholding by non-monastic clergy with renewed vigour. Secular clergy were forbidden to alienate land in 1588, long before the *compositio*. This law continued to be applied, and nobles still took priests to court to reclaim their estates. Paul Karski, Canon of Gniezno paid 5000 złoty to Piotr and Zofia Mielżyńscy, whose family was Catholic, for the village of Zakrzewo in Kalisz as a *wyderkaf* in 1643; he was reminded of this in the *gród* court four years later.¹¹² In Poznań just after the settlement, tolerant Catholic Łukasz Opaliński, later Crown Marshal of the Court, prevented Gniezno Cathedral from alienating his village of Skrzynki.¹¹³ Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz, had sold the usufruct of four villages to the Reverend Simon Kołodzki, cathedral canon and Royal Secretary, for 10 000 złoty, who left the land to the Cathedral. This was

¹⁰⁸ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), pp.528ff.

¹⁰⁹ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.930b; Poznań Gr. 687 (1642), p.531.

¹¹⁰ Nakło Gr. 113 (1636), p.490.

¹¹¹ Nakło Gr. 113 (1636), p.551b.

¹¹² Gniezno Gr.139 (1647), p.564b.

¹¹³ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636) p.19b.

initially confirmed by the Crown Tribunal, but Grudziński's son Andrzej took the Cathedral back to the Tribunal to successfully reclaim his inheritance.¹¹⁴

Jurisdiction over those who worked the land was another important aspect of the *compositio* which was now regulated by lay, not canon law courts. As the clergy and szlachta had agreed in the interregnum on Władysław's accession, cases of peasants which involved clergy were now brought before secular courts, and in Great Poland, this focused on runaways under the 1593 constitution. Several proceedings reached the *gród* after this step towards a *compositio*, in both the spiritual capital of Gniezno and the regional capital of Poznań. Already in 1636, Jan Modlibog accused Świętosław Strzalkowski, an estate administrator for the Gniezno Chapter, of taking escaped peasants onto his land.¹¹⁵ Stanisław Wieliewicki also brought a case for 50 złoty against the Cathedral which refused to return one of his subjects.¹¹⁶ A year later, the noblemen Jarosz Bieganowski and Bartłomiej Noskowski both accused their local clergy, in the latter case the Bishop of Poznań, of harbouring runaway peasants on their estates.¹¹⁷ By Władysław's death regulation of such cases in the secular courts had become the standard. Mikołaj Chylteowski accused Marcin Starczewski, Royal Referendary and estate administrator for the Abbey of Trzemięń, of taking in Jan Lendła, who escaped from his village of Kamionka. Litigation went both ways; the same abbot also accused Zygmunt Grudziński, Castellan of Nakło of accepting several runaway peasants on his estates.¹¹⁸ Thus the *compositio* made clear that peasants should be treated as property; as a matter for szlachta, not canon law courts.

The new legislation had established the Crown Tribunal as the court of last instance in conflicts between clergy and szlachta, and the Coronation Sejm had reduced the term of clerical deputies on it to two years. The highest court in the *Rzeczpospolita* felt the impact of these changes. Clerical domination of the Tribunal had been a constant szlachta complaint before the *compositio*. The judgements which reached it thereafter suggest that clergy influence was limited. As the above discussion has shown, the Tribunal was used to apply the *compositio* legislation; tithe rights were long-fought, but ultimately resolved

¹¹⁴ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1642), pp.891ff, p.905.

¹¹⁵ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.950.

¹¹⁶ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), p.98b.

¹¹⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1637) p.151b, p.154.

¹¹⁸ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.599, p.603.

there, while the szlachta ensured that no regular clergy alienated their land. The bishops of the Commonwealth and of Rome clearly had reason to complain.

Not only szlachta won cases at the Tribunal. Alexander Głęboki, Archdeacon of Gniezno used it to bring his estate administrators for the village of Lusowo in the Poznań Palatinate into line. Wojciech Zaleski, estate administrator owed the previous five years' profits, while Jan Sadowski and Jan Czerski had kept back profits for themselves in the current year. The court ruled that these estate administrators were to pay the Archdeacon the appropriated funds or face banishment.¹¹⁹ Regular clergy used the Tribunal too; the monks at Lubin near Poznań also appealed to the Tribunal to condemn Karszecki for taking in their runaway peasants.¹²⁰

Yet the Tribunal was clearly capable of ruling against high-ranking clerics. Soon after the *compositio*, Mikołaj Kuklinowski brought Jan Braniecki, Archdeacon of Poznań to justice for "driving away six peasants and apprehending them for his own use and work" from the villages of Biskupice and Giecz, without returning them. The Tribunal condemned the same Archdeacon later that year for cutting down trees on Ułanowski family land, for which he was to pay 3000 złoty in compensation.¹²¹ Albert Czeskanowski took the Archbishopric of Gniezno to the Tribunal, claiming 100 złoty for his runaway peasant, who had settled on the metropolitan's land.¹²² These cases show that the *compositio* had teeth; and that the szlachta were prepared to use them to challenge their highest-ranking clergy in the courts.

Thus the *compositio* did exactly what it set out to do: to regulate conflicts and define jurisdictions between clergy and szlachta in secular law within the *Rzeczpospolita*, regionally in Great Poland's *grody* and centrally in the Crown Tribunal. Both estates had long practice in defending themselves and their rights before the settlement, but the new legislation ensured that they approached each other on a more equal footing, with clearer legal boundaries. The settlement mitigated non-Catholic and Catholic szlachta fears alike that

¹¹⁹ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.607.

¹²⁰ Poznań Gr. 687 (1642), p.516b, p.580b.

¹²¹ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1637), p.287, p.832b.

¹²² Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.2b.

clerics dominated the Crown Tribunal. It provided a means of determining tithe and property rights that had been unclear for decades. Under szlachta judges, the Jesuits were not especially privileged; they won and lost cases much as other regular and the secular clergy.

On Władysław's death, the *compositio* was a part of Commonwealth legislation, and referred to as such. The 1648 version of the Warsaw Confederation cited the *compositio* constitutions of 1633 and 1635. This Confederation reiterated provisions from the settlement, for example reminding clergy that they, as well as szlachta, were obliged to support soldiers from their estates, (traditionally through annates and tithes) as defence might well be necessary in this *interregnum*.¹²³

At the same time, the *compositio* still needed to be applied more consistently. The dissenter grievances of 1648 included a reference to the *compositio* legislation of 1635 on the *liber beneficiorum*, repeating the provision of the original legislation that it should not be used to claim ownership of tithes.¹²⁴ The *Pacta Conventa* on Jan Kazimierz's accession included the *compositio* in legislation to be executed properly in the future. "...*de modo distributivae iustitiae*, on order during the *Interregnum*, *de correctura iurium*, *compositio inter status* and the satisfaction of the Kraków Academy, our Estates of the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania declare that whoever under our Antecessors the Polish Kings acted against the common law, all of this shall be brought to execution, in no way derogating the common law, not allowing the law to be interpreted in any other way than that in which it is written."¹²⁵

So the *compositio* was working, but it was not perfect. It did not end disputes between szlachta and clergy – no Sejm constitution could do that on its own – but it did regulate their disputes within a framework of Commonwealth law. Three power struggles were addressed; over money, land ownership and use of the courts. Firstly, the *compositio* unleashed a flurry of legal activity to define szlachta responsibilities to the clergy through tithes, resolving old conflicts. The most difficult cases took years to resolve, but they show that the new legislation was being applied. A money payment in lieu of tithes could work to

¹²³ *Volumina legum* t.4, p.79.

¹²⁴ *Grauamina Dissidentium de Religione... Anno Interregni 1648 Proponowane*, BJ MS 90, p.8.

¹²⁵ *Volumina legum* t.4, p.95.

the advantage of dissenter szlachta in particular, since it removed any reason for Catholic priests to be involved in non-Catholic parishes, and the alternative payment, which remained fixed, would devalue compared to the real worth of tithes collected over the years. Secondly, while secular clergy were still prevented from alienating land 60 years after the Sejm had ruled on this, the settlement extended this to regular clergy, including the Jesuits. Finally, secular jurisdiction over cases involving clergy was increased, from the lowest level of one escaped peasant to the highest level of the Crown Tribunal. There were still problems with executing the *compositio* – as with any law – at the interregnum on Władysław's death. By then, the legal standards for resolving property and jurisdiction between szlachta and clergy were set, and being implemented.

Szlachta of all confessions challenged the Catholic Church through the new legislation in Great Poland's *gród* courts. It is not easy to determine the church loyalties of nobles involved; many held no significant public office and left little other record of themselves. Thus apart from the cases of returned churches mentioned earlier in this chapter, no Lutherans could be traced. The Rozrażewska sisters who left their local priest without a stipend were from a Czech Brethren family, and Dobrogość Gębicki, whose family was Reformed, was one of the most resistant to paying tithes. Reformed Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz was the most prominent dissenter in the *gród* courts; he was charged for failing to pay tithes, while his son reclaimed four villages which would otherwise have seceded into church hands. Catholics too refused to pay tithes, including leading patrons of dissenter communities such as Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań.

The *compositio* showed that even without a national church, Catholic ecclesiastical influence was tempered by that of the szlachta in a multi-confessional state. The Pope approved the settlement as a mediating solution in the conflict between his hierarchy and the noble laity, thereby ending appeals to the Holy See, on the assurance that the hierarchy's role in decision-making affecting the Church in the Commonwealth was protected. Clergy were represented on the Crown Tribunal, now the court of the last instance, and bishops were to formulate the first solution to disputed tithe claims. Yet as the above cases show, these were not easy to enforce, and led to years of

legal wrangling inside the *Rzeczpospolita*, not in Rome. Secular courts – the *grody*, where clergy were not represented – determined the right to tithes, set the level of payment and penalties for non-payment. The szlachta who judged these cases also ruled in their fellow nobles' favour, meaning that it could take years of appeals before the priests got their tithes. The *compositio* also benefited szlachta, including dissenters, who were able to defend their title to property which would have otherwise have fallen into church possession, whether by secular or regular clergy. As well as dissenters including Zygmunt and Andrej Grudziński, Catholics, such as the younger Łukasz Opaliński and the Mielżyński family, reclaimed their estates from the Roman clergy under the new legislation.

So the *compositio* bolstered szlachta jurisdiction and property rights against those of the Catholic Church. This was especially important for dissenters who relied on noble patrons, Protestant or Catholic, for their churches to survive. It is no coincidence that the settlement between Catholic clergy and szlachta was reached along with the Orthodox settlement; both benefited non-Catholic churches in Poland-Lithuania, by strengthening secular influence on their affairs. This made the 1573 ideal of a multi-confessional Commonwealth more tenable, by strengthening the material and legal base to support non-Catholics.

5.4: Conclusions

The *compositio* was a kind of concordat for Poland-Lithuania, initiated by crown and szlachta, negotiated with the bishops and blessed by the Vatican, which made an official response to tensions between spiritual and secular authorities present since the Reformation. In Great Poland the settlement was fought out with particular intensity; a very denominationally mixed szlachta had an especial interest in restricting the Catholic Church, which in turn fought hardest to maintain its privileges from the Gniezno metropolitan.

Great Poland's sejmik instructions and the Sejm constitutions show that the szlachta expected their bishops to take responsibility for a settlement, limiting 'external' influence from the Vatican. The *compositio* did this, leaving decision-making on church income from tithes and land ownership to nobles in limited

consultation with the clergy under Commonwealth law. In 1565 the Sejm ruled that noble courts would not enforce ecclesiastical decisions; in 1635, the szlachta, with a limited number of clergy, resolved their conflicts together in the Crown Tribunal, without resort to Rome.

The new legislation limited the ability of the Post-Tridentine Church in Poland-Lithuania to use its property and jurisdiction against non-Catholic churches. This was achieved by a combination of time-honoured respect for particular rights and, developing the conciliarist tradition, with shared church decision-making not only between Pope and hierarchy but also with the szlachta. The *compositio* showed that Władysław IV had rejected his father's failed attempts at uncompromising Catholicisation, having learnt how much resistance this provoked. Władysław knew that he had to be seen to be working with his szlachta, who were members of all churches, and he was prepared to go to Rome to achieve this. Urban VIII had deemed a settlement between clergy and szlachta in the *Rzeczpospolita* less of a threat to papal authority than the settlement with the Orthodox. Yet while clarification of their jurisdictions and property, particularly tithes, could benefit the Roman clergy, the 1635 settlement increased szlachta control over these matters within Commonwealth law. Szlachta of all confessions used the courts effectively to prevent land alienation by all clergy and defend their non-payment of tithes, as protests from the hierarchy indicate.

The definition of spiritual and secular spheres made toleration easier to realise. Together with the new legislation on tumults and the Orthodox of that year, the *compositio* gave dissenters the *proces konfederacji* they had waited for. It better guaranteed non-Catholic autonomy by extending the principles of the Warsaw Confederation into more concrete legislation, which condemned confessional conflict and strengthened noble influence over all their churches. The *compositio* also helped the szlachta support dissenter churches more easily, by settling tithe and property rights in secular courts with szlachta judges, from jurisdiction over peasants or tithe collection to control of the Crown Tribunal. Guaranteeing that no noble land would be transferred to the Roman clergy also made dissenter communities more secure, since their churches were supported on noble estates, by their own and tolerant Catholic patrons. The *compositio* thus affirmed that Catholicism was just one of the

churches to which the citizens of Poland-Lithuania belonged; Commonwealth government could only function in conjunction with a confessionally diverse szlachta.

5. *Compositio inter status*

The ideals and debates of 1573 were not crushed with the end of the Rokosz of Sandomierz; one aim of the 'execution of the laws' movement was realised after Zygmunt III's death, on the accession of Władysław IV. The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 already included a clause calling for a *compositio inter status*, a settlement between the clerical and noble estates, directly following the article on toleration. So szlachta from all churches clearly associated defending their confessional freedom with defending noble rights against the Catholic hierarchy. "And since to achieve peace, much depends on limiting the differences *inter Status*, and between the spiritual and secular estates there is no small difference *de rebus politicis temporalibus*: we all promise *componere* these at the forthcoming *Electionis* Sejm."¹ This statement set the pattern for decades to come; successive monarchs affirmed the Confederation, but settlement of clerical and noble jurisdictions was always just around the corner, to be decided at the next Sejm.

The *compositio* has received surprisingly little attention in literature on the period, in contrast to the repeated references to *compositio* (as in sejmiki instructions) made by contemporaries.² The settlement changed the relationship between church and state, regulating conflicts of authority between priests and szlachta and increasing secular control over the Roman clergy. Thus the *compositio* was important for dissenters, since it helped them to support non-Catholic churches, but also for Catholics, since it better enabled all szlachta to defend their interests against those of the Roman Church.

The roots of the *compositio inter status* are traceable as far back as the conciliarist desire to curb papal power. The aim was to broaden and devolve church leadership; more decisions were to be taken within the *Rzeczpospolita*, whether by bishops or by clergy and szlachta in the Crown Tribunal.³ The settlement defined the limits of church power in two key areas – property and

¹ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.124.

² The exception is an essay by Jan Dziegielewski, "Sprawa *compositio inter status*" in *KH* 90 nr. 1 (1983), pp.81-91.

³ See chapter 3.2 on conciliarism.

jurisdiction. According to the *compositio*, no land could be sold by the szlachta to the clergy, and controversies over the right to tithes were to be settled in secular courts. Legal cases involving clergy had to be resolved with the involvement of secular judges, within Commonwealth borders and not by Rome.

The *compositio* showed how the rulers of the *Rzeczpospolita*, crown and szlachta, thought they should share power with their majority church. This was not a model of confessionalisation in Schilling's sense of an alliance between central state and church authority. Instead, the settlement with the Catholic Church was concluded within the Commonwealth framework. The influence of Pope and hierarchy was to be limited just as the crown and Senate were balanced by the szlachta in a mixed government. This chapter will explain the origins and resolution of the settlement in the Sejm, and its application through the courts, to show what impact it had on church-state relations.

Progress was slow; it took a lifetime of piecemeal changes before a newly elected king, who would also gain from defining secular against spiritual authority, pushed the settlement through. The main laws which the Sejm approved to regulate relations between clergy and szlachta were these:

Property	Jurisdiction
1567, 1569, 1607 annates to remain within the <i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	1565 <i>gród</i> courts will not enforce the decisions of ecclesiastical courts
1588, 1635 ban on alienation of Commonwealth land to clergy	1589 no more than 6 clerical deputies allowed on Crown Tribunal
1607 clergy's own heritable land is subject to tax and secular law	1607 no appeals to Rome in cases between szlachta and clergy
1633 cases involving peasants and clergy to go to secular courts	1616 6 lay deputies to judge spiritual cases on Crown Tribunal
1635 intellectual property: Kraków Jesuit Academy closed	1633 clerical deputies to serve no more than 2 years (against szlachta 4), and not to judge secular cases at any other court
1635 tithes to be regulated by bishops or failing that, <i>gród</i> courts or the Crown Tribunal	1635 no appeals to Rome for any cases involving clergy; Crown Tribunal as highest court of appeal

Great Poland's szlachta articulated all these needs in the run-up to the settlement. No sejmiki instructions could be sent without Catholics and Protestants agreeing on them first; limiting the Catholic clergy to szlachta advantage was not just a dissenter priority. While one third of Sejm deputies from the region were non-Catholic, whether Lutheran, Czech Brethren or Socinian, they enjoyed Catholic support for their toleration agenda, and this was equally true for the *compositio*.⁴ Sejmiki from all over Great Poland called for a *compositio* in 1604, connecting this to the *proces konfederacji* (application of the Warsaw Confederation in law and in practice) and general legal reform. The sejmik raised some points not covered by the Chamber of Deputies: according to the Łeczyca sejmik, Jesuits in particular should not be allowed to buy land.⁵ In 1606, the Środa sejmik demanded an end to all church land disputes against szlachta who held their estates legally and a suspension of tithes until the settlement was made. They were most concerned that some noble "property was affected or lost".⁶ Once the 1607 constitution was passed promising to conclude a *compositio* at the next Sejm, the Środa sejmik persistently reminded their monarch of this in its instructions right up until Zygmunt's death and Władysław's election, raising all the issues included in the final settlement.

The regional szlachta saw a clear delineation between the secular and spiritual estates as one of their rights enshrined in the *Pacta Conventa*, since the royal oath to uphold the Warsaw Confederation included the commitment to reach a settlement. The sejmiki of 1611 and 1613 called for "*compositio inter status and corectura iurium*" together, while the sejmiki of 1616 and 1618 associated *compositio* with toleration. The szlachta at Środa expected the Archbishop of Gniezno, then Wawrzyniec Gembicki, to assist in bringing about a successful settlement. The details were not forgotten; every key demand was listed again in the sejmiki of 1618 and 1622.

The szlachta of Poznań and Kalisz had their own concerns about clerical power in the courts. They condemned "the clergy in the Crown Tribunal, who hear

⁴ See chapters 1.2.1, 2.4.2 and 4.2.2.

⁵ Sejmik instructions from Środa, Łeczyca, Sieradz, Rawa and Wieluń in BK MS 1401, p.203, p.219, p.225, p.229, p.233, p.421, p.425.

⁶ Sejmik 9 II 1606 in BN MS 2723, p.628 and Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.278.

cases in other palatinates, rather than judging them in their own palatinate. This is a *praeiudicium* to the szlachta.” Later instructions placed responsibility on the whole hierarchy; in 1627 and 1632 the sejmik asked not just their Metropolitan but all bishops to make an effort to reach a settlement. The 1630 sejmik proposed specific constitutions to limit clerical manipulation of the Crown Tribunal; clergy should not judge cases involving their own cathedral chapter, or those only involving secular szlachta.⁷ In this they echoed the drive across the *Rzeczpospolita* to prevent the Catholic clergy from exploiting the Crown Tribunal to rule against non-Catholics, culminating in the 1627 Lublin judgement.⁸ Chapter two has shown how important dissenter representation in office and szlachta networks was; the *compositio* acknowledged this, ensuring a balance of clergy and nobles on the Crown Tribunal would guard against confessionally biased judgements.

Before explaining how this legislation was reached, it needs to be clear what the *compositio* was not. It was no manifesto for secularisation. Arguments for the total separation of the worldly and the holy were rare since all confessions viewed church and state as integrated, complementing each other. Contemporaries argued that “it is easier to build a city without foundations, *quam rempublicam absque religione constituere*”, going on to assert that though the Catholic Church should keep its privileges, dissenters should have the right to worship.⁹ Clerics held obviously ‘political’ roles; the Archbishop of Gniezno acted as interrex, bishops sat in the Senate and clergy on the Crown Tribunal.

The bishops advised the lay szlachta, usually calling them to approve royal policy. Episcopal *vota* preceded those by secular senators in the Sejm, and they also wrote to the sejmiki, to encourage the assembled szlachta to defend the Catholic Church or to accept the monarch’s proposals, when they were unable to attend themselves. For example Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Bishop of Poznań, wrote to the Środa sejmik in 1604 to protest against its commitment

⁷ Sejmiki 23 VII 1611, 29 I 1613, 8 II 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.404, p.418, pp.486-487; Sejmik of 13 I 1615 in BR MS 233, p.136; Sejmiki of 2 I 1618, 11 XII 1618, 13 XII 1622, 26 XI 1624, 16 XII 1625, 31 VIII 1627, 11 IX 1630, 19 II 1632; idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, shorter quote from p.46, pp.70-71, pp.142-143, p.191, longer quote from p.193, p.201, p.249, p.314, p.330; sejmiki 3 III 1632, 1633 in BR MS 231, p.296, p.304.

⁸ See chapter 1.2.1.

⁹ Anon., “Jakiego króla polakom trzeba?” (1572) in Czubek (ed.), *Pisma pierwszego bezkrólewia*, p.272, p.287.

to extend the Warsaw Confederation. Twelve years later, Goślicki addressed the sejmik again, now as nominate Archbishop of Gniezno, to rally support for war against the Turks and Tatars; "Asking the Lord God for good *consilia* at this assembly, that your lordships' hearts be moved to act together in harmony to save the fatherland, that the foreign enemy not receive such consolation as the failure of the recent Sejm gave him."¹⁰ For the Catholic clergy, both crown and szlachta were duty bound to defend their church; royal edicts on heresy were reprinted in synod records a hundred years later. As Andrzej Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań summarised, "*Rex et sacerdotes mundum regnunt.*"¹¹

While the archbishops took their role in politics very seriously, the bishops were less keen to voice their opinion. All Archbishops of Gniezno except Karnkowski and Firlej (who each missed one parliament) attended every Sejm under Zygmunt and Władysław and on average delivered *vota* at two-thirds of them. This was more than most ministers, who gave *vota* at 50% of Sejms; only royal Chancellors delivered more *vota* in the period, at 80% of diets.¹² Yet they did not always bolster royal authority; Archbishop Karnkowski's opposition in the early years of Zygmunt's reign is the clearest example.¹³ Though bishops also sat in the Senate, they gave *vota* at only a third of Sejms under the first two Wazas, constituting only 18% of senators attending the Sejm at all under Władysław.¹⁴

Nobles also fulfilled church functions, just as clergy held state authority. Szlachta were elders in Protestant churches and collectors of tithes to Catholic parishes. All noble patrons were encouraged to promote their churches in government. Catholic synods encouraged the szlachta to ensure that no laws detrimental to their church were introduced or upheld, which required active participation in the Sejm and sejmiki. Yet they also forbade preaching against the laws of the *Rzeczpospolita*; the clergy had to support the existing secular authorities.¹⁵

¹⁰ Letters of 21 XII 1604 and 4 III 1616 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.268, p.483.

¹¹ Andrzej Szoldrski, *Sacro civilis politia* (Kalisz, 1636), p.23, pp.38-39; *Constitutiones synodorum Metropol. Eccles. Gnesnensis* (Kraków, 1630) cited decrees of 1523 and 1527.

¹² Jan Seredyka, "Udział arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich w sejmach epoki polskich Wazów 1587-1668" in Strzelczyk (ed.), *1000 lat*, pp.245-60 (p.249, pp.252ff.).

¹³ see chapter 4.1.

¹⁴ Bishops gave *vota* at 36.2% of the Sejms held from 1587-1648; Seredyka, "Udział arcybiskupów" p.149; 126 out of 695 senators; Hóldys, *Praktyka parlamentarna*, p.201.

¹⁵ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae* 26 VI 1621 (Kraków, 1624), pp.Ciiiff.

Dissenters worked hard to sustain their churches' influence on government and policymaking before and after the *compositio*. At the Synod of Toruń in 1595, they appointed protectors for their communities in each region. In Great Poland the protectors were Czech Brother Andrzej Leszczyński, Palatine of Brześć and Lutheran parliamentarian Świętosław Orzelski. The synod also appointed envoys to Zygmunt III, Jan Zamoyski and the sejmiki to defend the legality of the synod and dissenter liberties. Plans for this synod had already been made by dissenters who took the opportunity to network at the Sejm earlier that year, showing that the interaction between political and church structures was two-way.¹⁶ Similar co-ordination between synods and the Sejm occurred before the Colloquium Charitativum in 1645. Dissenters reported on their synods and cases of discrimination to allies in other regions, just as they did on sejmiki.¹⁷ Czech Brethren elders called the szlachta to defend dissenter liberties, for example against discrimination over dissenters in appointment to office.¹⁸ Ministers set up a special fund to encourage their szlachta members to attend the Sejm, sejmiki and szlachta gatherings.¹⁹ Church visitations also encouraged the szlachta to attend the sejmiki.²⁰ Dissenter synods asked their nobles to stay until the end in order to influence the diet's final decisions.²¹

Since contemporaries expected churches to be involved in politics, the *compositio* did not need to cover everything. It was clear that some conflicts between clerics and nobles had always been judged in secular courts. The Catholic Church was a major landowner, so clergy were constantly involved in the secular courts, for example in border disputes.²² Conflicts between szlachta and clergy over abuse of church property were unaffected by the settlement. The parish priest of Izdebnó accused the local lords, Adam Stawicki and his wife Zofia, of appropriating and ruining his parish house and the surrounding land in 1647; "they took over the vicarage *in habitatione sua*... more than once, while brewing beer, they nearly burned down the

¹⁶ Jarminiński, *Bez użycia siły*, p.106, pp.124-125.

¹⁷ Examples include Broniewski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of 25 III 1620, reporting on a Brethren synod; ARV 1419, p.167; Zygmunt Grudziński reported 20 dissenters being sent to court after a tumult in Lublin; letter to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of 16 V 1633 in ARV 4808, pp.1-2; see chapter 1.3.2 for the Colloquium.

¹⁸ 14 X 1638 Synod, ABC 1502, p.8; 8 III 1640 Synod, ABC 1504, pp.28ff.

¹⁹ Synod of Leszno 28 IV 1632, ABC 1486, p.8; ABC 1490, p.71.

²⁰ Visitation to Ostroróg, 11 III 1647, ABC 1710, p.2.

²¹ 29 IV 1643 synod, ABC 1505, p.15.

²² Poznań Jesuit College versus Piotr Tomicki, Poznań Gr. 155 (1590), p.458b, or the Bishop of Poznań and the Latański brothers in 1606, Poznań Gr. 662 (1604-1607), p.877b.

vicarage".²³ Disputes over borders between estates, forest and fishing rights continued after the *compositio* as before.²⁴ For example the priest of St. John's Church in Gniezno accused local lord Adrian Radlicki and his son of cutting down trees on his side of the border between their estates. The border dispute had been going for six years and reached the Crown Tribunal when the szlachta took the law into their own hands. They brought in their own peasants to cut down the trees, beat the man hired to defend the woods, "dragged him to the manor house, and kept him there to hunger without drink or food... the whole night."²⁵

Though it dealt with property rights, the *compositio* made no direct mention of the ownership of church buildings. Before the settlement, clerics had challenged church ownership by dissenters in the courts, as their failure to regain Międzyrzecz in 1609 and success in reclaiming Gołaszyn in 1633 show.²⁶ Ten years after the *compositio*, such cases still surfaced occasionally in the Poznań *gród*, with a similar success rate. Two Catholic parish priests, at Choryn and Skoki, demanded the return of their churches in 1645, one from Czech Brethren patron Jan Broniewski and the other from Lutheran patron Świętosław Bojanowski, who had also been involved in the Gołaszyn case.²⁷ The outcome of the Broniewski case is not known, but Bojanowski's Lutheran church at Skoki survived into the twentieth century.²⁸ So the *compositio* did not end all disputes between Catholic clergy and a confessionally diverse szlachta, but did address core concerns of both.

The szlachta had their own interests at heart in seeking a settlement, just as their priests had in resisting it. Yet more than self-interest, the *compositio* was about principles; it inherited the Commonwealth conciliarist and liberty tradition, enshrined in the *Pacta Conventa*. Defining the spheres of spiritual and secular authority, setting out rights within limits for different groups, was typical of the devolved way in which the *Rzeczpospolita* was governed. It was no coincidence that in the year these measures were passed, the 1635 Sejm also approved constitutions on the Orthodox and tumults. Property and

²³ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.533b-536.

²⁴ Hyacinth Gomolinski accuses Wojciech Szoldrski of allowing his subjects to fish in his pond, Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.9b.

²⁵ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), pp.663ff.

²⁶ See chapters 1.2.2 on Międzyrzecz and 3.3.2 on church returns.

²⁷ Both in Poznań Gr. 690 (1645), p.177b, p.280.

²⁸ Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p.39.

jurisdiction were the two areas on which clergy and szlachta needed to reach a compromise. The degree of overlap between the spiritual and secular made this resolution a Herculean task.

5.1: From Confederation to *Compositio*

The lengthy process towards a settlement shows how difficult it was to separate clergy and szlachta spheres of authority. The *compositio* was a matter of defining where religious and secular power collided, which was not easy in an age where religion was so important for the state, and in a polity that had decided that its ruling class was free to choose its confessional loyalties. The majority church in Poland for centuries was not willing to give up any of its privileges, while the szlachta was keen to defend its rights in the 'execution of the laws' tradition. Only when the monarch actively pursued a mediating solution could this tension be resolved.

The *compositio* raised questions central to the toleration debate, such as how involved Catholic clergy should be in cases that came before the Crown Tribunal, where tumults and conflicts over church property were judged. Legal appeals and money in the form of annates went to Rome, acknowledging the spiritual and temporal authority greater than that of the *Rzeczpospolita* which its non-Catholic citizens did not recognise. Ownership of tithes, land and control of peasants on it were more than matters of sharing worldly wealth and power; this income and influence was used to support churches of all confessions. Conflicts with the monarch in the *rokosz* and the following decades shows that defining szlachta property and jurisdiction against that of the Catholic Church was vital to making liberty of conscience and religious peace work, as the previous chapter demonstrated.²⁹

It has been argued that the majority of disputes with the clergy over church tithes, land and rents were caused by dissenter szlachta, in Little Poland at least.³⁰ Yet the analysis of court records in Great Poland here suggests that Catholics also came into conflict over church property and jurisdiction; this was not just a battle between Reformation and Counter Reformation. The fact

²⁹ See chapters 4.2.2 and 4.3.

³⁰ Wacław Urban, "Reformacja i kontreformacja w świetle ksiąg sądów szlacheckich województwa krakowskiego z 1598 roku" in *Res historica* 10 (2000), pp.93-95.

that clergy quarrelled among themselves over tithes shows that this was not simply a 'class conflict' between clergy and laity. The Bishop took the canon and custodian of Poznań Cathedral to court for non-payment of 2000 złoty due to the cathedral chapter in 1589.³¹ Tithes were a sore point between regular and secular clergy too. In 1549 Pope Paul III exempted Society of Jesus from all tithes, though Gregory XIII limited this in 1572. Diocesan clergy and Jesuits conflicted over tithes on a local level, with extended cases going through the church courts all the way to Rome.³²

So the ambiguity of tithe ownership was something that both szlachta and clergy had an interest in resolving; members of all confessions could use the income to support their churches. This shows that the *compositio* was also necessary for the Catholic Church, explaining why the Pope was prepared to endorse it. What the *compositio* initiated was to provide a clear legal framework for resolving tithe disputes which was recognised by clergy and szlachta, and involved both parties in the decision-making process.

Interregna were flashpoints in the political development of the *Rzeczpospolita*.³³ By looking at the approaches to the *compositio inter status* during these key years the changes in church-state relations can be traced. What is striking is the persistence with which the szlachta reiterated the same demands over decades. The sea change in clerical attitudes which was required to conclude a settlement occurred when Zygmunt's throne passed to his son Władysław. The following analysis seeks to determine whence this change came; from within the Catholic hierarchy or due to royal pressure. The 1573 commitment to reach a settlement was renewed with each monarch's oath of accession, but never executed, since the clergy resisted all efforts by the szlachta to define their rights.

Through their sejmiki and the Sejm, Great Poland's szlachta had raised all the issues that remained on the Commonwealth agenda for a generation. The first steps towards a *compositio* were discernible already even before the Union of Lublin, and key causes of tension between clergy and szlachta were raised before Zygmunt III was crowned. Constitutions in the 1560s defined secular

³¹ Poznań Gr. 155 (1590), p.250.

³² Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia*, p.142.

³³ See chapter 2.1.1.

authority in the *Rzeczpospolita* against that of the Roman hierarchy. A milestone on the road to the 1573 *Pacta Conventa* was the 1565 Sejm constitution which stated that starostas would not enforce the decisions of ecclesiastical courts. Constitutions of 1567 and 1569 ruled that “annates should remain in the Kingdom for the defence of the *Rzeczpospolita*”.³⁴

A *compositio inter status* was part of toleration from the very genesis of the Warsaw Confederation; dissenters clearly saw that clear boundaries with the Catholic clergy were essential for confessional harmony and security. The 1570 draft of a constitution *De modo concordiae inter statum spiritualem et saecularem* was probably produced at Sandomierz, by the dissenters who agreed on the Consensus just before the 1570 Sejm. This constitution called for religious toleration for the confessions at Sandomierz, reform of the churches and tithes. The draft constitution was not passed, due to opposition led by the Catholic hierarchy. It did however pave the way for the Warsaw Confederation. Confessional issues were raised by the Chamber of Deputies at the opening of the Sejm, and King Zygmunt August confirmed in writing that he would not take matters of heresy to court. The draft constitution of Sandomierz was presented to the King. Confessional debates continued at the Sejm for the entire session until it closed. Resolution of matters of conflict with the clergy, the future *compositio*, was delayed until the next Sejm. Zygmunt August’s death came first, however.³⁵ In the following interregnum, the Warsaw Confederation of 1573 showed the szlachta’s commitment to the *compositio* and both Henri Valois and Stefan Batory swore on the Confederation, though they did little to reach a settlement. Under Batory, the 1581 Sejm raised the issue of Crown Tribunal decrees on tithes from szlachta lands; these were suspended until the next Sejm, setting a pattern of delay for the following decades.³⁶

One of the most pressing issues was church alienation of noble land. The constitutions to prevent the church from gaining permanent landed wealth from szlachta owners were passed “so that Poland would not turn into a clerical kingdom”.³⁷ Land ownership was power; nobles and priests were well

³⁴ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.52, p.69, p.95.

³⁵ Jan Pirożyński, *Sejm warszawski roku 1570* (Kraków, 1972), pp.33-50; see also chapter 1.1.2 on this constitution.

³⁶ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.210.

³⁷ Kłoczowski (ed.), *Zarys dziejów*, p.97.

aware that limiting church purchases of land limited their political influence, but this was more than just a worldly quarrel between estates.

Landholding was a crucial factor in maintaining confessional diversity, as chapter three on church ownership has shown. Patrons (*kolatorowie*) of individual parish churches were usually the founders or their heirs, that is, the owners of the land on which the church stood. The percentage of parishes patronised by each estate echoed the proportion of land that these estates held; just under two-thirds of parishes had szlachta patrons, a fifth clergy, and a sixth royal owners in Little Poland; szlachta held three quarters and the church less than a tenth of the land in the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates, so parish ownership would reflect this. Church patrons had the right to present candidates for the vacant benefice to the bishop, who usually confirmed this, honorary privileges such as a prominent seat in the church, ('*kolator's bench*') and were mentioned by name at masses on Sundays and holy days. They were also responsible for maintaining the church and vicarage buildings. Thus the szlachta majority as owners or estate managers of land was central to the Reformation. Even if they did not turn Protestant, szlachta patrons could keep the income from parish benefices – including tithes – leaving parishes without a priest or priests without an income.³⁸ Land ownership was thus as much a religious as a political issue.

Another key cause of dispute was tithes, which had been a bone of contention between szlachta and priests since the Reformation. These were collected by the landowners, mostly szlachta, who were supposed to pass them on to their parish clergy. The ownership of tithes was unclear from the Reformation onwards, when parish churches fell into dissenter hands. Tithes were a matter of economic independence crucial for non-Catholic churches.³⁹ These could be used to support dissenter ministers, or simply kept by the nobility, to the dismay of the Catholic clergy. Half the Catholic clerical contribution to the treasury also came from tithes, since they paid from tithes on their land into the *pobór* tax.⁴⁰ Clerics resented that their tithes were being diverted to taxation, "going to soldiers when the priests were in need of food."⁴¹

³⁸ Litak, "Struktura", pp.309-310, pp.455-456.

³⁹ Korolko, "Pogranicze Sarmatyzmów", pp.139-140.

⁴⁰ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.107.

⁴¹ Sejm diary 1628, BC MS 354, p.116.

Commonwealth law had helped to maintain the ambiguous status of tithes to szlachta advantage. From the 1565 ruling that ecclesiastical court judgements would no longer be enforced by secular courts, szlachta, particularly dissenters, began to keep tithes themselves. Based on visitation figures for the Kraków Diocese, it is estimated that at least 30% of tithes were withheld at the turn of the seventeenth century.⁴² A few tithe disputes reached Great Poland's courts before 1607, when these were suspended till a *compositio* was reached. For example Jan Gostomski, then Castellan of Wałcz and a prominent Catholic Reformer himself, was challenged in the *gród* for owing 700 złoty per annum in four years of unpaid tithes to Łukasz Brzeznicki, Canon of Poznań Collegiate Church.⁴³

This clarification began under Zygmunt III. The Warsaw Confederation in 1587 reiterated the promise of 1573; "since the clergy have not yet reached a *compositio* with the secular estate, in order to prevent harmful suspicion between one estate and another, we shall, according to our oath and the constitution, deliberate on, strengthen and bring this [*compositio*] before the new King during this election, before he is crowned."⁴⁴ No settlement was concluded in 1587, but the deliberations survive. The Chamber of Deputies produced twelve concrete demands gathered from almost all the sejmiki instructions of the Commonwealth, to which "their spiritual lordships" the clergy representatives responded in writing, point by point.⁴⁵ It was clear that conflicts of authority could not yet be resolved; the clergy were not prepared to concede anything to the szlachta at this stage. The first priority was that clergy should not buy land from the secular szlachta, alienating it from lay ownership. Annates should also remain in the Commonwealth according to the 1565 constitution; the clergy stated that only the Pope could take a decision on both these matters. The most contentious issues of property rights were insoluble; there was no agreement as to whether the *liber beneficiorum* should be used to prove title to land, or on how to settle disputed claims to tithes. Using this Catholic list of parishes would put nobles and

⁴² Kowalski, "Środowiska parafialne", pp.243-244.

⁴³ Poznań Gr. 1364 (1606), pp.10-12.

⁴⁴ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.228.

⁴⁵ *Desideria Stanu Świeckiego od Stanu Duchownego* (1587) in BC MS 373, pp.44-46.

dissenters at a disadvantage in resolving property disputes.⁴⁶ Control of the Crown Tribunal was another key point; the priests did not agree that clerical deputies should only serve for four years, like their secular counterparts. The clergy also denied the deputies' attempt to exclude them from the Chamber when secular matters were discussed, and argued that priests should be allowed to appeal to Rome in legal cases.

Zygmunt III began to face up to the szlachta demands for a settlement raised on his election. Most importantly, the 1588 Sejm passed a constitution banning the illegal alienation of noble lands; lands could be granted to the church for the owner's lifetime but "*successores* will always be allowed to recuperate their *alienata*", through the district (*ziemskie*) courts if necessary. Conflict between clergy and szlachta for control of the Crown Tribunal returned in a constitution of 1589, which reiterated that cases should not be judged by more than six clerical deputies.⁴⁷

Royal reluctance and clerical opposition doused hopes for a settlement in the 1590s; it took a noble rising to put the *compositio* back on the Commonwealth agenda. The *rokosz* years, which reiterated the concerns that were raised in 1573 and 1587, were important ones for the *compositio* debate, as chapter four has shown. Zygmunt III renewed his promise to resolve the conflict, keeping the issue alive in Sejm debates into the 1620s, but not enough progress was made. The deputies at the 1606 Sejm raised two of the central points which recurred over the next three decades – they wanted to request papal approval for a *compositio*, which would include denying clergy the right to appeal to Rome on spiritual matters or buy land.⁴⁸

At the Sejms during the *rokosz*, some issues to be concluded in 1635 were already introduced into law.⁴⁹ The 1565 constitution on annates was recalled in 1607; provisions were made to "bring this into effect" by collecting the money like taxes. Cases criminal and civil which involved secular persons and clergy were to be judged within the Commonwealth without appeals to Rome,

⁴⁶ Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum* surveyed benefices in 1470s Kraków. To determine the ownership of tithes, he used evidence provided by the parish priests, which differed from, for example, that of religious orders. Marek Derwich, *Materiały do słownika historycznego-geograficznego dóbr i dochodów dziesięcinnych...* (Wrocław, 2000), pp.14-16.

⁴⁷ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.259, p.281.

⁴⁸ 17 III 1606, Sejm diary in BK MS 325, p.606-607.

⁴⁹ 1607 and 1609 Sejms in *Volumina legum* t.2, pp.436-438, p.463, p.469.

and the clergy were given a year to set up a system for this with papal approval. Tithes were suspended until the *compositio* was settled.

The double status of noble clergy began to be addressed at the 1607 Sejm. These clergy were to pay taxes on their personal heritable land, not church property. These estates were subject to secular law and the Crown Tribunal was the court of appeal. No clerics were to have secular managers (*dzierżawy*) for their estates, nor hold multiple benefices and offices. Abbots and canons were to be szlachta, “of Polish noble birth, by both their father and mother, *indigenis Regni et Dominiorum*”.

The Sejms of 1607 and 1609 acknowledged that the limits of clerical and szlachta jurisdiction should be defined; the former called for a discussion between four named bishops including that of Cujavia, four senators including the Palatine of Kalisz and Castellan of Gniezno, and szlachta representatives, to resolve this issue on St. Martin’s Day and come up with a *compositio* document for approval at the next Sejm. This did not happen; the 1609 Sejm passed an almost identical constitution, also reaffirming the 1607 ruling on clerical benefices.

After the crisis of the *rokosz* was over, the impetus for a *compositio* slowed. In Zygmunt’s later years, the debate was revived in the 1616 Sejm, which sought to heal the divisions over toleration that had arisen the year before. A constitution on Crown Tribunal deputies stipulated that six lay deputies were needed to judge spiritual cases. Two years later, a constitution again provided for the *compositio* to be settled between the clergy and szlachta once for all – at the next Sejm “to the satisfaction of both Estates”.⁵⁰ The noble estate was more than ready – the priestly estate was not.

Resistance from the Catholic Church made the settlement impossible. The clergy defended themselves reactively, fearing that a *compositio* would undermine their existing privileges. The 1607 synod chose deputies from the Gniezno archdiocese to meet with the szlachta from both chambers of the Sejm and negotiate a settlement, while defending church liberties and laws. These two goals could not be reconciled; the synod of 1621 reiterated the same

⁵⁰ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.133, p.158. See also chapter 1.2.1 on the 1615 Sejm.

aim.⁵¹ Three Bishops of Poznań protested against the *compositio*; Andrzej Opaliński presented it in a letter to Zygmunt III as a “conspiracy of their secular lordships *contra statum Ecclesiasticum et Cleri immunitates*”. He was echoed by Wawrzyniec Goślicki and Adam Nowodworski.⁵²

Great Poland’s Catholic clergy sought to refute their szlachta’s arguments for a *compositio* by showing how the settlement would affect Church property and jurisdiction; the secular estates were encroaching on territory that was not theirs by right, which would clearly benefit non-Catholic churches. The 1607 and 1609 constitutions seeking a settlement “*non amor Patriae*, but *odium Ordinis spiritualis excitauit*.”⁵³ They wanted these repealed. The clergy blamed dissenters for inflaming the *compositio* debate, and worried that non-Catholics might gain church land. The two main threats to the Church as Archbishop Karnkowski saw it were heretics and non-payers of tithes.⁵⁴ As Andrzej Lipski, Custodian of Gniezno, put it in his 1616 “address to the estates of the Kingdom”, the Catholic Church was wounded by three things; by the Warsaw Confederation, which they considered dissenter plot to convert Catholics, by the undermining of church jurisdiction, and by their ‘bread’, the tithes, their privileges and immunities being taken away.⁵⁵ Tithes belonged to the church, not the szlachta; “*reddite quae sunt Caesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo*”.⁵⁶

That statement is misleadingly simple; it took decades of political wrangling for clergy and szlachta to define. The debates over church and secular spheres of authority under Zygmunt III show that both sides still viewed the *compositio* as a way of extending szlachta rights and limiting the power of the Catholic Church, and priests were well aware that the *compositio* would benefit dissenter churches. To get past the hierarchy, it had to be presented differently; the *compositio* could only be concluded when the priests also believed that it was in their interest to reach a settlement.

⁵¹ Pope Sixtus V to Andrzej Opaliński, Crown Marshal, letter of 2 IV 1587 in BK MS 245, p.190; also Bernard Maciejowski, *Concilium provinciale regni Poloniae Piotrków 1607* (Kraków, 1609), pp.6-8; *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 26 VI 1621* (Kraków, 1624), p.Ciir.

⁵² Opaliński’s letter of 6 I 1623 in BK MS 292 nr. 65, p.261; Goślicki’s protest after regional sejmiki, 21 XII 1604 in Dworzaczek (ed.), *Akta 1572-1616*, p.268; Bishop of Poznań’s protest to Poznań gród, 14 I 1633 in idem., *Akta 1616-1632*, p.150.

⁵³ *Na protestatją Wielgopolską przeciwko duchownym uczynioną* in BR MS 31, p.96b.

⁵⁴ Karnkowski, *Kazanie*, p.95, p.99.

⁵⁵ Andrzej Lipski, *Decas questionorum publicarum regi in quibus Ecclesiastica iura et immunitates Ecclesiastici status elucidatur* (Kraków, 1616), p.57, pp.149ff.

On the eve of Zygmunt's death, szlachta pressure for a *compositio* was even greater than on his accession. Some key issues such as banning clergy alienation of szlachta land and representation in the Crown Tribunal had been tackled, but most important debates were left open. The 1618 constitution was elaborated in 1631. Whereas in 1607, specific senators had been named to reach a settlement, this time they were to be headed by the Archbishop of Gniezno and include the Royal Chancellor as well as deputies elected by the szlachta and clergy from the sejmiki and synods.⁵⁷ This was further than the Commonwealth had ever got towards finalising the matter. The priests may have begun to realise that unclear jurisdictions and the indefinite suspension of tithes for decades since 1607 were not to their advantage either, by the 1630s, they had lost decades of income. Yet Zygmunt III was still unprepared to force the estates to compromise. The interregnum preceding Władysław's election provided a window of opportunity to push the *compositio* through.

5.2: The Settlement

The accession of Władysław IV was a turning point; directly thereafter, the demands for a settlement were finally realised. Władysław IV had learnt from the conflicts throughout his father's reign that the issue of the *compositio* would not go away; the szlachta new king was prepared to send to Rome to do so. Władysław was elected with broader noble support than his father; he was the king's son, brought up in the Commonwealth, rather than a newcomer whose hereditary claim was one generation removed. Thus on his accession, Władysław was not so reliant on the Catholic Church for support, as chapter four has shown.

Władysław placed negotiations with the Vatican for a settlement in the hands of Jerzy Ossoliński, his future Chancellor and close advisor while he was still a prince. Without Ossoliński's diplomacy and personal will, the Holy See would never have consented to the settlement. Yet Ossoliński did not decide to go; he went on royal authority, by order of the Sejm and with petitions from the Commonwealth clergy.

⁵⁶ Jesuit Laurentius Faunteus, *De Controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum et secularem in Polonia* (Poznań, 1587), p.57.

⁵⁷ *Volumina legum* t.3, pp.319-320.

The clergy, despite decades of suspended tithes, would only accept a settlement blessed by the Holy Father. The Church continued trying to impress its authority upon the secular rulers. Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Deacon of Płock, gave the clergy's address to the new King in 1632; "that your majesty might know who you are, and who the Lord God wanted you to be in his Holy Church". The king was to restore their God-given rights, especially to tithes.⁵⁸ The archdiocesan synod sentenced laity who expropriated tithes to excommunication, "*non obstante aliqua Constitutione, ordinatione, siue aliqua compositione*".⁵⁹

Great Poland's political leaders sustained the campaign for a settlement and provided the impetus to force it through in the interregnum on Władysław's accession, from Catholic constitutionalists including Łukasz Opaliński to dissenter parliamentarians such as Łukasz Orzelski.⁶⁰ The szlachta's election assemblies made *compositio* a priority; 16 Crown and six Lithuanian assembly articles called for a settlement.⁶¹ Catholic szlachta, who had the most dealings with their own clergy, were the most active advocates of this *compositio*; property – tithes and clergy purchase of land – was their major concern. The matter was discussed by commissions at both the convocation and election Sejms, but agreement on the details could not be reached.⁶² At the election Sejm, the Orzelski brothers and Jan Schlichting represented Great Poland on a deputation in which they stressed that Polish law and szlachta rights were more important than rulings from Rome.⁶³

In the Convocation Sejm on Zygmunt's death, Great Poland directed the debate towards the settlement. For the regional szlachta, annates, tithes and monastic holding of szlachta lands were the most important components.⁶⁴ Mikołaj Ostroróg, the son of Jan, Palatine of Poznań, led the offensive; "we ourselves can agree on a *medium* so that the szlachta would not sell their Lands to their Priests."⁶⁵ He was joined by fellow constitutionalist Catholics Łukasz Opaliński and minister Jerzy Ossoliński in the Senate. The sejmik of

⁵⁸ Wawrzyniec Goślicki, *Mowa duchowieństwa koronnego na sejmie warszawskim do KJM* (Kraków, 1632).

⁵⁹ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis 13 XI 1634* (Kraków, 1636), pp.187-188.

⁶⁰ See chapter 3.1.2 on his 1632 request that the Orthodox be included in the *compositio*.

⁶¹ Dziegielewski, "Sprawa", p.83.

⁶² Tomasz Makowski, *Poselstwo Jerzego Ossolińskiego do Rzymu w roku 1633* (Warszawa, 1996), pp.59-60.

⁶³ Sejm diary in BR MS 8, p.240, p.243.

⁶⁴ *Artykuły Wielgopolskie on compositio*, 1632, BK MS 345, p.44.

⁶⁵ 1632 Convocation diary, BC MS 363, p.55.

Środa was one of the most radical voices, proposing (with Sandomierz) that the Sejm should approve all church foundations.⁶⁶

At the Convocation Sejm, the same deliberations between clergy and deputies took place as in 1587; the old points were reiterated but 19 more were added.⁶⁷ The clergy were prepared to make minor concessions on the new points. From 1588 clergy had been forbidden by Sejm constitution from alienating szlachta land; the Sejm deputies wanted clergy to be able to be granted exceptional use of land for no more than 50 years, and the priests conceded 80. The deputies did not want canons to be given parish houses; the priests accepted this, except to support doctors of theology, medicine and law. The clergy now acknowledged that they ought not to interfere in secular cases at the Crown Tribunal; they reminded the szlachta that this was already stated in the Tribunal statutes. The secular clergy also had no objection to denying unauthorised regular clergy access to the Royal Chamber, to Lithuanian bishops being alternately of Polish and Lithuanian origin, or to cases of peasants which involved clergy going to the district courts. There was even hope on tithes. The Archbishop of Gniezno called for an inquiry into the “*onerosa exactione decimarum, fertonum missalium et aliarum pensionum, pro quibus passim in comitiis tam particularibus, quam generalibus ab equestri ordine acclamationes esse solent contra clerum*”.⁶⁸

On other new issues, the priests were intractable. They still claimed that “there is no other way of proving the right to tithes except by the *liber beneficiorum*.”⁶⁹ Contesting szlachta opinion, they argued that bishops should be allowed to hold benefices and canons should be allowed to hold more land than the estate they received with their office. Since some nobles were also clergy, some szlachta had family interests in supporting clerical landholding too.⁷⁰ It was clear that Papal approval would be needed for the core issues of property rights to be settled. Władysław, unlike his father, made the effort to secure this.

⁶⁶ Articles and clergy responses at the Convocation in BK MS 345, pp.42bff.

⁶⁷ *Artykuły in negotio Compositionis Inter Status* (1632) in BC MS 363, pp.52b-54b.

⁶⁸ Catholic synod at Poznań 14 IX 1632 in Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae VII*, p.96.

⁶⁹ *Artykuły in negotio Compositionis*, p.53.

⁷⁰ See 2.4.1 on clergy patronage networks.

Władysław IV's Coronation Sejm resolved some less controversial matters, before Papal consent for the most contentious decisions was sought. These further refined the role of the clergy in the Crown Tribunal. Clerical deputies could only serve for two years (against a szlachta norm of four), and clerics should have no part in judging disputes between clergy and szlachta at secular courts lower than the Crown Tribunal. Conclusion of the settlement was yet again delayed to the next Sejm; but this time a deputation to the Pope made it happen.⁷¹

The mission to Rome was sent on the request of the secular estates at the 1633 Coronation Sejm, since the bishops could not accept all the proposed *compositio* provisions. The envoy was to call upon the Pope to mediate, so that issues of contention between the szlachta and clergy could be regulated. Thus Władysław sent his close ally, the then Under Treasurer Jerzy Ossoliński, to the Holy See, fulfilling the promise made to so many Sejms over the previous decades. Ossoliński was Catholic himself, a great advocate of the *compositio* who wanted religious peace with Protestants and a peaceful settlement with the Orthodox.⁷² His glorious entry into Rome was accompanied by a train of 300 men, twenty carriages and ten camels.⁷³ Ossoliński received an audience with Pope Urban VIII on 6 December 1633, exactly ten months after Władysław was crowned.

Ossoliński's mission was also one of obedience, as sent by all new monarchs to the Vatican.⁷⁴ Władysław affirmed his allegiance to the Pope sooner than his father – Zygmunt III had only done so after three years, as had Stefan Batory. From Great Poland, Andrzej Grudziński, future Palatine of Poznań, joined Ossoliński's delegation to Urban VIII. Their secretary was Bishop Andrzej Gembicki, then coauditor and later Bishop of Łuck, who stayed when Jerzy Ossoliński left on 23 December to conclude negotiations on the status of the Orthodox. The *compositio* issues were top priority during negotiations with Urban VIII. Ossoliński's mission bore fruit; the *compositio inter status* was approved in almost exactly the form requested.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Volumina legum* t.3, p.378, p.382, p.385.

⁷² Dziegielewski, "Sprawa", p.87.

⁷³ Kumor (ed.), *Historia Kościoła*, p.217.

⁷⁴ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.7, p.19, p.41.

⁷⁵ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.8, p.20, pp.80-81, p.85.

As well as the *compositio* decisions which the Sejm approved on their return, the Commonwealth envoys to the Vatican also addressed other issues crucial for the place of the Roman Church in government and relation to other churches in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Yet church-state relations rather than internal church matters were clearly the priority in this deputation to Rome. Coauditor Gembicki was responsible for instructions from his primate and fellow bishops, which were also not part of the *compositio* itself in Rome in 1633. None of the Polish requests for canonisation of saints (including Jesuit Stanisław Kostka, 1550-1568) or cardinals met with success at this mission. The Pope did however confirm that the Wrocław Diocese in Silesia, which was no longer part of Polish territory, belonged to the Gniezno Metropolitan. Urban VIII also approved the statutes of Władysław IV's Order of the Immaculate Conception on 5 July 1634, though this Order was never formed.⁷⁶

The most important issue besides the *compositio* in Ossoliński's mission to Rome was a settlement with the Orthodox.⁷⁷ Like the *compositio*, this agreement also defined the limits of Catholic Church authority, to support confessional diversity in the Commonwealth, thus acknowledging that the Union of Brześć forty years before had failed to embrace all the faithful of the Greek Church. It had been discussed at the convocation and election Sejms in 1632, under Władysław's leadership. The Catholic bishops only agreed to a settlement with the Greek Church under pressure from the war with Muscovy, and then only on condition that it had papal approval. The *Points to satisfy the citizens of the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the Rus nation and Greek religion* were written into the Warsaw *gród* court records on 1 November, and on the 14th, Władysław IV was elected.

As with the *compositio*, assuring the Vatican that a Commonwealth settlement with the Orthodox presented no danger to Catholicism was essential for it to succeed in Rome. Ossoliński said in his speech to Urban VIII that no heresy or schism had affected Poland, and if any Commonwealth citizens were affected, they were "cut off from the whole szlachta". The instruction on this, referring to the Muscovy war, stated that Orthodox citizens should not be

⁷⁶ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, pp.38-40, pp.65-66, pp.76-79, p.82. On the Order, see 2.1.1.

⁷⁷ Makowski, *Poselstwo*, p.41, pp.56-59.

confused with enemies. The matter of agreement with the Orthodox took a special Roman congregation five weeks to settle. This congregation could not agree on giving the Orthodox any property, which belonged to the universal church since the Brześć Union; this indicated their awareness of how essential property was to ecclesial power. All other matters were however left to the Polish-Lithuanian King's discretion. This included confirming the ownership of churches, fraternities, schools and printing presses and the right to found new ones, freedom of worship and the recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy. As in the *compositio*, the Pope left internal matters to be decided within the Commonwealth.

The Pope was also asked to resolve another Commonwealth conflict related to the *compositio*, between the Jesuits and Kraków Academy. This had arisen with the foundation of a Jesuit school in the city in 1611, which was recognised as an Academy by the 1613 Sejm. In 1625 the Academy brought the Jesuits before the Papal court of appeal, for extending their educational remit to include humanist as well as theological studies. On 15 January 1634, Urban VIII forbade the Jesuits from teaching subjects taught by the Kraków Academy. This was significant as the Jesuits, the most prominent new Order of the Catholic Reformation, had become highly influential in the *Rzeczpospolita*, encroaching on existing privileges, which aroused both clerical and noble resentment.⁷⁸ The Papal order to rein in their educational ambitions was an important check on Jesuit expansion, affirming the precedence of a much older institution, in this case the Academy.

Thus the papal mission facilitated an agreement between szlachta, bishops and crown on how to manage church property and jurisdiction within the *Rzeczpospolita*. The 1635 Sejm concluded the process of realising the *compositio inter status*; it enshrined in Commonwealth law the decisions blessed by Rome, and added further provisions to make the settlement work. The Sejm's *marszałek* was Jerzy Ossoliński. Constitutions 12-20 tackled spiritual issues - including the Orthodox and tumults, discussed in chapter one.⁷⁹ These constitutions sealed the process of negotiation in the Sejm between clergy and szlachta that had taken decades. Some matters were

⁷⁸ See chapters 3.2.1 and 4.2.2.

⁷⁹ In *Volumina legum* t.3, pp.406-408.

decided in the 1632 interregnum, others were blessed by the Pope during Ossoliński's mission, and the 1635 Sejm constitutions formed a solid legal basis for the future of the *compositio*. The first priority in the constitutions was defining jurisdictions. From now on, no clergy were allowed to appeal to the Curia in criminal or civil cases; these would all be resolved within the *Rzeczpospolita*, with appeals going to the Crown Tribunal. This ruling was to be published in both the *gród* court and synod records.

The central constitution sought to resolve the long-standing differences between the estates on "the composition of tithes". The *compositio* did not end all disputes over tithe ownership; instead it set up a procedure for establishing who had the right to collect tithes and how they were to reach the relevant parish priests. Both nobles and clergy were involved in judging cases. The constitution on tithes resolved almost a century of conflict, involving the *gród* courts in the issue again for the first time since tithes were suspended in 1607, but this time to judge cases, rather than enforce ecclesial decisions (as was the case before 1565). The task of hearing claims to tithe rights was now delegated to the local bishops. If they disagreed with the bishop's judgement, the priest and landowner would have to work out an equivalent amount which the priest would be paid in money, to avoid future dispute. Tithes could still be given to the priest in the traditional manner, but then the priest would be obliged to pay from them into the *pobór* tax as applied before the settlement. Unresolved disputes were to be thrashed out in the *gród* courts with the Crown Tribunal as the court of last instance. Crucially, the *liber beneficiorum* was not to be used as a basis for calculating tithes, further reducing the Catholic Church's control of these payments.

The 1635 Sejm also addressed another issue of church-state power, which was related to, though distinct from the *compositio* settlement. The Jesuits were banned from competing directly with the most elite educational institution in the Commonwealth, on the Vatican's request. A constitution affirmed the rights of the Kraków Academy. The Order was forbidden from running any schools in either Kraków or the surrounding towns, to end the conflict with the Academy. The rights of orders to educate their own members and of the bishops to control the Academy were preserved. All other Jesuit colleges, however, were "not only affirmed in their liberty, but brought under

our and our successors' protection" in the next constitution. A later constitution at this Sejm allowed the Jesuit College at Rawa in Great Poland to buy land for 30 000 złoty, to compensate for other estates sold to a noble the previous year, in 1634. This was "in no way to be read as a contravention of the constitutions of this present Sejm"; the clergy would have no net gain of *Rzeczpospolita* territory.⁸⁰

Ossoliński's mission to Rome had catalysed a transformation for confessional relations in the *Rzeczpospolita*; it facilitated the resolution not only of the *compositio*, but other church issues that had been burning for decades, including relations with the Orthodox and Jesuit education. Rome's mediating role was crucial; the blessing of the Holy See was essential for Commonwealth clergy to accept a settlement. The Vatican was persuaded that the *compositio* would help, not hinder, the Polish-Lithuanian Church. The Pope certainly saw advantages in the *compositio*. Apart from anything else, Ossoliński's mission proved the importance of the Holy Father as mediator between noble and clerical estates; this was a conflict that the King of Poland-Lithuania could not resolve without his help. The settlement would serve the clergy, by restoring their tithes to them. The right to tithes would be set by their own bishops, though if challenged, these had to be determined by lay courts.

Rome approved measures less radical than parliamentarian advocates of the *compositio* would have wished; the 1587 proposal from the Chamber of Deputies that clergy be excluded from Sejm debates on secular matters, or Środa's 1632 plan that the Sejm should approve church foundations, were clearly not on the papal agenda. The Pope could not claim spiritual jurisdiction over the szlachta land and courts regulated by the *compositio* either, even if these were important means of supporting dissenting churches, though his pronouncement was needed to resolve the conflict on tithes and decide where legal appeals would end. The settlement with the szlachta, like that with the Orthodox however, may have been the best way in which Urban VIII could deal at a distance with the Commonwealth reality of confessional diversity under a Catholic monarch. The settlement with the Orthodox, an issue of competition from another international church hierarchy that denied

⁸⁰ *Volumina legum*. t.3, p.413.

Petrine authority, took a special congregation much longer to convince. This congregation realised that church property was a central issue.

Yet Pope Urban had initiated a process that also imposed restrictions on his own hierarchy. The Commonwealth clergy, who knew their local context better, had good reason to resist the *compositio* for so long. The legal process for resolving conflicts between priests and patrons was weighted in the szlachta's favour. They controlled the *gród* courts, and appeals ended at the Royal Tribunal, where clerical representation, though guaranteed, had been restricted by the settlement. The szlachta gained a ban on alienation of land to secular or regular clergy, and the monarch gained an end to appeals and payments (annates) to a higher authority outside royal jurisdiction, that is, the Holy See.

This became clear in the following decades. The Catholic hierarchy had not accepted the *compositio* easily, but could not disapprove a settlement with papal blessing. The 1642 Poznań Synod even attempted to clarify the limits of secular and spiritual jurisdictions further. However the synod could not achieve this; in cases involving wills and inheritance or legates, the decision of whether these went to a secular or spiritual court was left open.⁸¹ Tithes remained contentious; this synod wanted to publicise the ruling that szlachta who forbade the collection of tithes were to be excommunicated.⁸² The hierarchy was clearly feeling the effects of the settlement.

While the Holy See approved the Commonwealth plans for a *compositio* as a way of ending tensions between nobles and clergy, once it was clear that the settlement allowed these conflicts to be resolved in favour of a confessionally diverse szlachta, the Vatican reacted less positively. Nuncio Honario Visconti (1630-1635) supported Władysław IV's candidacy, despite doubts about his attitude to the church. But once the *compositio* and Władysław's affirmation of Protestant and Orthodox rights took effect, the next nuncio, Mario Filonardi (1635-1643) was moved to call Władysław IV "a protector of heretics and schismatics" in his correspondence with Rome. The whole Senate, including the bishops, rallied behind their king, and asked the Pope for a new nuncio;

⁸¹ *Constitutiones et decreta synodis diocesana Posnaniensis 9 IX 1642* (Poznań, 1642), pp. Hiiiibff.

⁸² Fałca (ed.), *Synod*, p. 171.

Filonardi left on 9 August 1643 and no replacement for him was found until 1645.⁸³

Rome realised that the settlement was not being applied in its favour; a papal declaration of 23 July 1646 addressed Władysław IV asked for episcopal rights to tithes and land to be preserved.⁸⁴ So Rome now realised that the Polish hierarchy's fears that Catholic and non-Catholic szlachta would use the settlement against them were being confirmed.

In theory, clerical and noble roles were more clearly defined in the *Rzeczpospolita* in 1635 than they had ever been. In practice, no-one wanted or expected the spiritual and secular to be divorced from each other overnight. The szlachta gained what they wanted with regard to tithes, land alienation and the superiority of lay over Roman jurisdiction. Yet in a devolved Commonwealth which could only be governed by protecting particular rights, including those of the church, special provision was made in constitutions for both the Jesuits and the Orthodox. Would exceptions undermine the *compositio* legislation from day one, or could it really change the relationship between spiritual and secular estates?

5.3: From Compositio to Court

Great Poland had made an important contribution to the successful conclusion of a *compositio*; once the settlement was reached, the regional szlachta took care that it was applied. The Sieradz sejmik called for adherence to the *compositio* in its sejmiki after 1635.⁸⁵ So did Środa, but after a lifetime of debate, the sejmik was satisfied that the *compositio* was working and stopped discussing it in 1638.⁸⁶ The *compositio inter status* was no longer a matter for Sejm debate but of legal battles, as a survey of cases brought in Great Poland will show.

Peculiarities of Great Poland's regional context affected how the *compositio* operated. Apart from one regional provision on peasants, the same settlement

⁸³ Kumor (ed.), *Historia Kościoła*, pp.217-218.

⁸⁴ *Constitutiones synodis Gnesniensis provinciae 8 XI 1643* (Warszawa, 1646), pp.55-58.

⁸⁵ Filipczak-Kocur, *Sejmik Sieradzki*, p.109.

⁸⁶ 1638 sejmik in BR MS 231, p.367.

was applied. A constitution dealing with escaped peasants in the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz had been passed in 1593; if they were caught, these 'vagabonds' could be put to work by their captors until their lord claimed them back, in which case they were to be immediately returned.⁸⁷ After 1633, when such cases involved clergy as landlords, they found their way into the province's *gród* courts. Most importantly, conflicts over church property were more fiercely fought in Great Poland, since the head of the Polish Church was the Archbishop of Gniezno, and the Metropolitan was especially keen to defend its rights, whether to tithes or land. Cases from other provinces were also judged in Gniezno *gród* court, including border disputes from Little Poland.⁸⁸ Thus the region is a good place to test how the new legislation was enforced, since this province was home to the head of the Roman Church in the *Rzeczpospolita*.

After the settlement, individual constitutions were passed to commute the effects of the *compositio* ban on land purchase for specific religious orders though the szlachta still kept control of these transactions by defining what the regular clergy could acquire. In Great Poland this affected Poznań's monks and nuns.⁸⁹ The local Jesuits were allowed to buy new land, on condition that they gave up an existing estate. "Since the Poznań College *Societatis Iesu* needs a church building and house and has no wooded land, *vigore praesentis Conventus* we allow that they may give one property to a person of the knightly estate and buy another *aequivalentia secundum suam commoditatem in perpetuum*." The Poznań District Court was appointed to ensure that the two properties were equivalent. The Poznań nunnery was allowed to do the same for some part estates, under the same conditions as the Jesuits.

The new legislation made an immediate impact on the treatment of tithes in Great Poland. From 1635, financial arrangements for tithes clustered in the *gród* court records, showing that the bishops were indeed working out a settlement, while controversial cases were resolved through litigation, as the *compositio* stipulated. Szlachta contracts settled the exact amount their local

⁸⁷ *Volumina legum* t.2, p.345.

⁸⁸ For example Adrian Grodziecki, Archdeacon of Gniezno, v. Valerian Mieliecki for over Kurzelów, a town in Sandomierz, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), pp.56ff.

⁸⁹ 1638 Sejm in *Volumina legum* t.3, p.453, p.460.

clergy would receive as a money alternative to tithes, which was not clear prior to the settlement. For example in 1636, Wojciech Węgierski agreed to pay the annual “*census*” of 108 złoty for two villages and his town of Rogowo to the clergy of St. George’s Church.⁹⁰ Another contract in the Poznań *gród* between Jacob Sierakowski, priest at Chrzypiec and Zofia Kuratowska, settled on the annual sum of 100 złoty for the village of Niemierzew.⁹¹ Sometimes earlier agreements were published in the court records to affirm the tithe sum for the future, as a contract of 6 January 1627 between Bartłomiej Urbański, priest at Modliszewski, Daniel Karczewski and Elżbieta Modliszewska, promising him 10 złoty on St. Martin’s day every year “towards the tithes”.⁹²

Gniezno Cathedral Chapter defended its tithe rights especially actively in court. Disputes were not always easy to settle; when the Cathedral claimed back payments from 1626 for the villages of Moikowo and Chmielnik, the case returned to the courts a year later.⁹³ The Cathedral claimed up to 2000 złoty for tithes unpaid, also by tolerant Catholic Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, in the decade before the *compositio*.⁹⁴ These claims continued to be published in succeeding years; Świętosław Strzałkowski, Archdeacon of Poznań & Canon of Gniezno challenged the regional elite for nine years’ back payment of tithes, including Zygmunt Grudziński, the Reformed Palatine of Kalisz.⁹⁵ Dobrogość Gębicki, also from Kalisz and a Reformed family, owed Andrzej Zajaczek, pastor of the church at Stawiszyn, 15 000 złoty for the parish in 1645, ten years after the *compositio* settlement and 12 since Gębicki had inherited the town.⁹⁶

The szlachta defended themselves against church demands for tithes effectively through their courts, fighting cases all the way to the Crown Tribunal; only there, in 1637, was Jan Niałecki charged to pay 1000 złoty for the years 1634 and 1635.⁹⁷ A decade later, Stanisław Strzyzewski, parish

⁹⁰ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.27-28.

⁹¹ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.5b.

⁹² Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), p.100.

⁹³ Stanisław Jemieliski at 50 zł p.a. for the last two years, 1634 & 1635, Stanisław Zaremba and Jan Szyszkowski at 7 zł. each p.a. from 1627, 1636 and 1637, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), p.51, p.157.

⁹⁴ Teresa Constantia and Krzysztof Opalińscy, for the village of Tarnowa, 2000 zł. for 7 years from 1628-1635; Abraham Ciswicki Castellan of Śrem, 30 zł. p.a. for the village of Grodziec, 1633-1635; Andrzej Cielmowski for the village of Kuchary, 2000 zł. for 9 years 1627-1635, all 1636 in Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.51b-52.

⁹⁵ Grudziński for the village of Robakowo; Jan Gorecki for the village of Węgierskie; Jan Munkowski for the village of Bieganowo are all charged 1000 zł. in 1637, Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.189-190.

⁹⁶ Kalisz Gr. 271 (1645), p.229, p.337.

⁹⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1635-1642), pp.292-293.

priest of Strzelcen was still demanding unpaid tithe payments over eight years of 24 złoty per annum at the Tribunal.⁹⁸ Gniezno Cathedral threatened tolerant Catholic Łukasz Opaliński, then Under Chamberlain of Poznań, with a 40 złoty fine for not paying 50 złoty annually for tithes for the village of Główna in 1642 and 1643. The case was still running four years later.⁹⁹ Another unresolved dispute that ran for at least three years in the courts was a Gniezno Canon's attempt to claim 5000 złoty for almost a decade of tithes since the *compositio* was settled.¹⁰⁰

Clergy in other palatinates of Great Poland were less zealous in pursuing their tithe dues, lacking the impetus and resources of the Metropolitan to support them. Examples involving leading regional szlachta include a case brought by the parish priest of Tykławowo against parliamentarian Władysław Leszczyński, future Palatine of Łęczyca, claiming 2000 złoty for tithes in 1637 and 1638 which were unpaid five years on.¹⁰¹ By the end of Władysław IV's reign, the new legislation on tithes was in regular use; many szlachta were still challenging their clergy. The nobles were happy to keep tithes, but reluctant to pay the money equivalent to their clergy as had been agreed in 1635. Szlachta including the Catholic Opaliński brothers were fighting legal battles with the clergy over the right to the income from tithes as late as 1648.¹⁰² So the new legislation provided a framework to resolve conflicts, but made it difficult for clergy to pin down nobles who refused to pay their priests.

Szlachta had gone to law with parish clergy about priests' upkeep before the *compositio*, but the settlement stimulated the resolution of cases which had been suspended for years. Soon after Zygmunt's accession, Kasper Gniński was instructed to "build a house on the vicarage land at his own cost and leave whatever he built on the vicarage land *temporibus perpetuis*" for the parish priest on his land at Druziń.¹⁰³ Łukasz Opaliński granted an annual stipend of 20 złoty to the priest in his village of Igin in 1627.¹⁰⁴ As soon as

⁹⁸ Jadwiga Malczewska for the village of Głogowiec in 1647, Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.576b.

⁹⁹ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.654b-655.

¹⁰⁰ Reverend Jacobus Dubius v. Piotr Jabłkowski for the village of Mieleszyno, 1637-1644, 1647 case in Gniezno Gr. 139 (1643-1648), p.658.

¹⁰¹ Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.15b.

¹⁰² Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań versus the Opaliński brothers, 1648 in Poznań Kp.2 (1647-8), pp.118-119; letter of 27 II 1648 in Opaliński, *Listy*, p.403; Elector of the Paradisi Abbey versus Samuel Schlichting, 1648 in Poznań Kp.2 (1647-8), p.149.

¹⁰³ Poznań Gr. 1332 (1589), p.79, p.872.

¹⁰⁴ Wschowa Gr. 55 (1624-27), p.929b.

the *compositio* was reached, priests claimed their stipends for the preceding years of uncertainty. Anna and Katarzyna Rozrażewska, daughters of the Castellan of Nakło, from a Czech Brethren family, owed nine years' stipend to the priest at Czerszykowo, at the going annual rate of 50 złoty, while Stanisław Kossowski owed six years to his priest in Broniszewice.¹⁰⁵

The *compositio* marked an important shift in control of the most important source of wealth in the *Rzeczpospolita*: land. The ban on alienation of estate to monastic orders was applied from the year it was concluded right up to Władysław's death. These provisions of 1588 and 1635 made direct land transfer from nobles to the church much more difficult, though sales to various church institutions did occur, with limitations, in practice, as indicated by the 1638 Sejm provisions for Poznań mentioned above. Since land ownership was so essential to the fate of parish churches and clergy, this aspect of the *compositio* directly affected the future confessional balance in the Commonwealth.

Directly after the settlement, the szlachta pursued claims to monastic land in the courts; religious orders including the Jesuits, despite the royal protection afforded to them by the 1635 constitution, were equally obliged to comply. Szlachta sold land to clergy with the right to repurchase it, (*wyderkaś*), both parties profited from the temporary sale of the estate. *Wyderkaś* was commonly used in the *Rzeczpospolita* as a means of granting credit while avoiding the church ban on charging interest, profiting the clergy. At the same time, the szlachta received a loan while preserving the title to their land for their heirs, but this had not always been recognised by church creditors. Jakub Taczanowski brought Kalisz Jesuit College before the Crown Tribunal in 1635, for his village of Taczanowo which they held as *wyderkaś*; the College was to return the land to him on pain of a 2000 złoty fine.¹⁰⁶ Albert and Mateusz Grzymultowski, sons of Tomasz, Castellan of Bydgoszcz, brought a case against Gniezno Cathedral, to reclaim their estates at Rotkowo, which they should have inherited on the death of Abbot Christopher Martin.¹⁰⁷ In 1647, Dorota Orsikowska and her fellow nuns wanted to keep the village of Bożewice, which they inherited on the death of her uncle, Świętosław

¹⁰⁵ Kalisz Gr. 262 (1635), p.13, p.60b.

¹⁰⁶ Kalisz Gr. 262 (1635), p.89.

¹⁰⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), p.70b.

Strzałkowski, Archdeacon of Poznań. They took the owners, the Młodziejewskis and Drzewickis, to the Crown Tribunal, but the court ruled that the nuns could not keep the village as this was “*contra statuta regni*”.¹⁰⁸

Of course regular clergy found ways to defend and profit from their property. The Dominican sisters in Poznań granted a house to at least two noblewomen for their lifetimes. The sisters complained to the court of the terrible condition in which the building was returned to them on Anna Koworowska's death; “in the first room upstairs... twelve or fifteen window panes are broken, also in one window in the attic”. The nuns still managed to use the property, since six years later the house was restored to them on the death of Urszula Broniewska.¹⁰⁹ The Dominican prior of Poznań, Wojciech Margoń, took Michał Chokwiński to the Crown Tribunal for preventing the monks from taking possession of villages in the Nakło district, left to them by one of their Order, Szczęśny Włoszynowski. Chokwiński was supposed to vacate the estates, since the usufruct belonged to the Dominicans.¹¹⁰ Jan Korzbok Lancki and Stefan Chrzastkowski owed Jesuit Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki ten and three thousand złoty respectively.¹¹¹ As with tithes, it is to be expected that these cases were not easy to resolve.

After the settlement on monastic orders, the szlachta challenged landholding by non-monastic clergy with renewed vigour. Secular clergy were forbidden to alienate land in 1588, long before the *compositio*. This law continued to be applied, and nobles still took priests to court to reclaim their estates. Paul Karski, Canon of Gniezno paid 5000 złoty to Piotr and Zofia Mielżyńscy, whose family was Catholic, for the village of Zakrzewo in Kalisz as a *wyderka* in 1643; he was reminded of this in the *gród* court four years later.¹¹² In Poznań just after the settlement, tolerant Catholic Łukasz Opaliński, later Crown Marshal of the Court, prevented Gniezno Cathedral from alienating his village of Skrzynki.¹¹³ Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz, had sold the usufruct of four villages to the Reverend Simon Kołodzki, cathedral canon and Royal Secretary, for 10 000 złoty, who left the land to the Cathedral. This was

¹⁰⁸ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), pp.528ff.

¹⁰⁹ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.930b; Poznań Gr. 687 (1642), p.531.

¹¹⁰ Nakło Gr. 113 (1636), p.490.

¹¹¹ Nakło Gr. 113 (1636), p.551b.

¹¹² Gniezno Gr.139 (1647), p.564b.

¹¹³ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636) p.19b.

initially confirmed by the Crown Tribunal, but Grudziński's son Andrzej took the Cathedral back to the Tribunal to successfully reclaim his inheritance.¹¹⁴

Jurisdiction over those who worked the land was another important aspect of the *compositio* which was now regulated by lay, not canon law courts. As the clergy and szlachta had agreed in the interregnum on Władysław's accession, cases of peasants which involved clergy were now brought before secular courts, and in Great Poland, this focused on runaways under the 1593 constitution. Several proceedings reached the *gród* after this step towards a *compositio*, in both the spiritual capital of Gniezno and the regional capital of Poznań. Already in 1636, Jan Modlibog accused Świętosław Strzałkowski, an estate administrator for the Gniezno Chapter, of taking escaped peasants onto his land.¹¹⁵ Stanisław Wieliewicki also brought a case for 50 złoty against the Cathedral which refused to return one of his subjects.¹¹⁶ A year later, the noblemen Jarosz Bieganowski and Bartłomiej Noskowski both accused their local clergy, in the latter case the Bishop of Poznań, of harbouring runaway peasants on their estates.¹¹⁷ By Władysław's death regulation of such cases in the secular courts had become the standard. Mikołaj Chylteowski accused Marcin Starczewski, Royal Referendary and estate administrator for the Abbey of Trzemień, of taking in Jan Lendła, who escaped from his village of Kamionka. Litigation went both ways; the same abbot also accused Zygmunt Grudziński, Castellan of Nakło of accepting several runaway peasants on his estates.¹¹⁸ Thus the *compositio* made clear that peasants should be treated as property; as a matter for szlachta, not canon law courts.

The new legislation had established the Crown Tribunal as the court of last instance in conflicts between clergy and szlachta, and the Coronation Sejm had reduced the term of clerical deputies on it to two years. The highest court in the *Rzeczpospolita* felt the impact of these changes. Clerical domination of the Tribunal had been a constant szlachta complaint before the *compositio*. The judgements which reached it thereafter suggest that clergy influence was limited. As the above discussion has shown, the Tribunal was used to apply the *compositio* legislation; tithe rights were long-fought, but ultimately resolved

¹¹⁴ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1642), pp.891ff, p.905.

¹¹⁵ Poznań Gr. 681 (1636), p.950.

¹¹⁶ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1636), p.98b.

¹¹⁷ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1637) p.151b, p.154.

¹¹⁸ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.599, p.603.

there, while the szlachta ensured that no regular clergy alienated their land. The bishops of the Commonwealth and of Rome clearly had reason to complain.

Not only szlachta won cases at the Tribunal. Alexander Głębowski, Archdeacon of Gniezno used it to bring his estate administrators for the village of Lusowo in the Poznań Palatinate into line. Wojciech Zaleski, estate administrator owed the previous five years' profits, while Jan Sadowski and Jan Czerski had kept back profits for themselves in the current year. The court ruled that these estate administrators were to pay the Archdeacon the appropriated funds or face banishment.¹¹⁹ Regular clergy used the Tribunal too; the monks at Lubin near Poznań also appealed to the Tribunal to condemn Karszecki for taking in their runaway peasants.¹²⁰

Yet the Tribunal was clearly capable of ruling against high-ranking clerics. Soon after the *compositio*, Mikołaj Kuklinowski brought Jan Braniecki, Archdeacon of Poznań to justice for "driving away six peasants and apprehending them for his own use and work" from the villages of Biskupice and Giecz, without returning them. The Tribunal condemned the same Archdeacon later that year for cutting down trees on Ułanowski family land, for which he was to pay 3000 złoty in compensation.¹²¹ Albert Czeskanowski took the Archbishopric of Gniezno to the Tribunal, claiming 100 złoty for his runaway peasant, who had settled on the metropolitan's land.¹²² These cases show that the *compositio* had teeth; and that the szlachta were prepared to use them to challenge their highest-ranking clergy in the courts.

Thus the *compositio* did exactly what it set out to do: to regulate conflicts and define jurisdictions between clergy and szlachta in secular law within the *Rzeczpospolita*, regionally in Great Poland's *grody* and centrally in the Crown Tribunal. Both estates had long practice in defending themselves and their rights before the settlement, but the new legislation ensured that they approached each other on a more equal footing, with clearer legal boundaries. The settlement mitigated non-Catholic and Catholic szlachta fears alike that

¹¹⁹ Gniezno Gr. 139 (1647), p.607.

¹²⁰ Poznań Gr. 687 (1642), p.516b, p.580b.

¹²¹ Gniezno Gr. 138 (1637), p.287, p.832b.

¹²² Kalisz Gr. 269 (1642), p.2b.

clerics dominated the Crown Tribunal. It provided a means of determining tithe and property rights that had been unclear for decades. Under szlachta judges, the Jesuits were not especially privileged; they won and lost cases much as other regular and the secular clergy.

On Władysław's death, the *compositio* was a part of Commonwealth legislation, and referred to as such. The 1648 version of the Warsaw Confederation cited the *compositio* constitutions of 1633 and 1635. This Confederation reiterated provisions from the settlement, for example reminding clergy that they, as well as szlachta, were obliged to support soldiers from their estates, (traditionally through annates and tithes) as defence might well be necessary in this interregnum.¹²³

At the same time, the *compositio* still needed to be applied more consistently. The dissenter grievances of 1648 included a reference to the *compositio* legislation of 1635 on the *liber beneficiorum*, repeating the provision of the original legislation that it should not be used to claim ownership of tithes.¹²⁴ The *Pacta Conventa* on Jan Kazimierz's accession included the *compositio* in legislation to be executed properly in the future. "...*de modo distributivae iustitiae*, on order during the *Interregnum*, *de correctura iurium*, *compositio inter status* and the satisfaction of the Kraków Academy, our Estates of the Kingdom and Grand Duchy of Lithuania declare that whoever under our Antecessors the Polish Kings acted against the common law, all of this shall be brought to execution, in no way derogating the common law, not allowing the law to be interpreted in any other way than that in which it is written."¹²⁵

So the *compositio* was working, but it was not perfect. It did not end disputes between szlachta and clergy – no Sejm constitution could do that on its own – but it did regulate their disputes within a framework of Commonwealth law. Three power struggles were addressed; over money, land ownership and use of the courts. Firstly, the *compositio* unleashed a flurry of legal activity to define szlachta responsibilities to the clergy through tithes, resolving old conflicts. The most difficult cases took years to resolve, but they show that the new legislation was being applied. A money payment in lieu of tithes could work to

¹²³ *Volumina legum* t.4, p.79.

¹²⁴ *Grauamina Dissidentium de Religione... Anno Interregni 1648 Proponowane*, BJ MS 90, p.8.

¹²⁵ *Volumina legum* t.4, p.95.

the advantage of dissenter szlachta in particular, since it removed any reason for Catholic priests to be involved in non-Catholic parishes, and the alternative payment, which remained fixed, would devalue compared to the real worth of tithes collected over the years. Secondly, while secular clergy were still prevented from alienating land 60 years after the Sejm had ruled on this, the settlement extended this to regular clergy, including the Jesuits. Finally, secular jurisdiction over cases involving clergy was increased, from the lowest level of one escaped peasant to the highest level of the Crown Tribunal. There were still problems with executing the *compositio* – as with any law – at the interregnum on Władysław's death. By then, the legal standards for resolving property and jurisdiction between szlachta and clergy were set, and being implemented.

Szlachta of all confessions challenged the Catholic Church through the new legislation in Great Poland's *gród* courts. It is not easy to determine the church loyalties of nobles involved; many held no significant public office and left little other record of themselves. Thus apart from the cases of returned churches mentioned earlier in this chapter, no Lutherans could be traced. The Rozrażewska sisters who left their local priest without a stipend were from a Czech Brethren family, and Dobrogość Gębicki, whose family was Reformed, was one of the most resistant to paying tithes. Reformed Zygmunt Grudziński, Palatine of Kalisz was the most prominent dissenter in the *gród* courts; he was charged for failing to pay tithes, while his son reclaimed four villages which would otherwise have seceded into church hands. Catholics too refused to pay tithes, including leading patrons of dissenter communities such as Krzysztof Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań.

The *compositio* showed that even without a national church, Catholic ecclesiastical influence was tempered by that of the szlachta in a multi-confessional state. The Pope approved the settlement as a mediating solution in the conflict between his hierarchy and the noble laity, thereby ending appeals to the Holy See, on the assurance that the hierarchy's role in decision-making affecting the Church in the Commonwealth was protected. Clergy were represented on the Crown Tribunal, now the court of the last instance, and bishops were to formulate the first solution to disputed tithe claims. Yet as the above cases show, these were not easy to enforce, and led to years of

legal wrangling inside the *Rzeczpospolita*, not in Rome. Secular courts – the *grody*, where clergy were not represented – determined the right to tithes, set the level of payment and penalties for non-payment. The szlachta who judged these cases also ruled in their fellow nobles' favour, meaning that it could take years of appeals before the priests got their tithes. The *compositio* also benefited szlachta, including dissenters, who were able to defend their title to property which would have otherwise have fallen into church possession, whether by secular or regular clergy. As well as dissenters including Zygmunt and Andrej Grudziński, Catholics, such as the younger Łukasz Opaliński and the Mielżyński family, reclaimed their estates from the Roman clergy under the new legislation.

So the *compositio* bolstered szlachta jurisdiction and property rights against those of the Catholic Church. This was especially important for dissenters who relied on noble patrons, Protestant or Catholic, for their churches to survive. It is no coincidence that the settlement between Catholic clergy and szlachta was reached along with the Orthodox settlement; both benefited non-Catholic churches in Poland-Lithuania, by strengthening secular influence on their affairs. This made the 1573 ideal of a multi-confessional Commonwealth more tenable, by strengthening the material and legal base to support non-Catholics.

5.4: Conclusions

The *compositio* was a kind of concordat for Poland-Lithuania, initiated by crown and szlachta, negotiated with the bishops and blessed by the Vatican, which made an official response to tensions between spiritual and secular authorities present since the Reformation. In Great Poland the settlement was fought out with particular intensity; a very denominationally mixed szlachta had an especial interest in restricting the Catholic Church, which in turn fought hardest to maintain its privileges from the Gniezno metropolitan.

Great Poland's sejmik instructions and the Sejm constitutions show that the szlachta expected their bishops to take responsibility for a settlement, limiting 'external' influence from the Vatican. The *compositio* did this, leaving decision-making on church income from tithes and land ownership to nobles in limited

consultation with the clergy under Commonwealth law. In 1565 the Sejm ruled that noble courts would not enforce ecclesiastical decisions; in 1635, the *szlachta*, with a limited number of clergy, resolved their conflicts together in the Crown Tribunal, without resort to Rome.

The new legislation limited the ability of the Post-Tridentine Church in Poland-Lithuania to use its property and jurisdiction against non-Catholic churches. This was achieved by a combination of time-honoured respect for particular rights and, developing the conciliarist tradition, with shared church decision-making not only between Pope and hierarchy but also with the *szlachta*. The *compositio* showed that Władysław IV had rejected his father's failed attempts at uncompromising Catholicisation, having learnt how much resistance this provoked. Władysław knew that he had to be seen to be working with his *szlachta*, who were members of all churches, and he was prepared to go to Rome to achieve this. Urban VIII had deemed a settlement between clergy and *szlachta* in the *Rzeczpospolita* less of a threat to papal authority than the settlement with the Orthodox. Yet while clarification of their jurisdictions and property, particularly tithes, could benefit the Roman clergy, the 1635 settlement increased *szlachta* control over these matters within Commonwealth law. *Szlachta* of all confessions used the courts effectively to prevent land alienation by all clergy and defend their non-payment of tithes, as protests from the hierarchy indicate.

The definition of spiritual and secular spheres made toleration easier to realise. Together with the new legislation on tumults and the Orthodox of that year, the *compositio* gave dissenters the *proces konfederacji* they had waited for. It better guaranteed non-Catholic autonomy by extending the principles of the Warsaw Confederation into more concrete legislation, which condemned confessional conflict and strengthened noble influence over all their churches. The *compositio* also helped the *szlachta* support dissenter churches more easily, by settling tithe and property rights in secular courts with *szlachta* judges, from jurisdiction over peasants or tithe collection to control of the Crown Tribunal. Guaranteeing that no noble land would be transferred to the Roman clergy also made dissenter communities more secure, since their churches were supported on noble estates, by their own and tolerant Catholic patrons. The *compositio* thus affirmed that Catholicism was just one of the

churches to which the citizens of Poland-Lithuania belonged; Commonwealth government could only function in conjunction with a confessionally diverse szlachta.

Conclusion

Plural confessions in a pluralist state: how long could this situation last in a Commonwealth surrounded by confessional divisions? The example of Great Poland shows how under the first two Wazas, mixed confessions shared in a mixed government. Senators and non-senatorial szlachta worked together with the crown, the regions upholding a centre that in return supported their freedoms, including that of confession. Thus church and polity were co-created by a szlachta that agreed to differ on religion, not imposed by crown and clergy. Great Poland was the westernmost province of a vast *Rzeczpospolita* where the interests of szlachta from Poznań had to be balanced against those from Kraków, Kiev and Kowno, Wilno, Gdańsk and Riga. As long as all these interests were represented, the state held together. Great Poland embodies this Commonwealth balance in miniature; the exceptional variety of confessions in the region put them in a position to lead Poland-Lithuania in upholding toleration for longer than most historiographical accounts allow. The second Waza's reign marked a revival for non-Catholics, not a decline.

This study shows how toleration was sustained in principle and in practice for the three-quarter century from 1573 to 1648. The Warsaw Confederation, the framework for liberty of conscience, was founded on the principle of szlachta liberty. It recognised nobles of all confessions as members of the governing class, active citizens building their state together, and it worked. Apart from liberty in the 'execution of the laws' tradition, the Confederation also drew on the 1570 Sandomierz Consensus, which showed that political unity between confessions was possible without uniting into a national church; Great Poland was especially committed to keeping this spirit of confessional co-operation alive, and church differences caused little conflict within regional power structures and relationships; this informed Great Poland's attitude both in Warsaw and in relation to her neighbours.

Szlachta of all confessions defended this devolved model of Commonwealth government in state and church successfully against any attempts by the Catholic hierarchy or monarch to undermine them, as the example of the Rokosz of Sandomierz shows. Monarchical impact was limited as one of three

ruling partners, with szlachta in both houses of the Sejm, and this period did not mark the return to a monoconfessional state. Zygmunt III had some success in bolstering the Catholic Reformation at the turn of the seventeenth century; many church buildings and senate seats returned to Catholics. Yet szlachta and monarch strongly reaffirmed the 1573 model of devolved confessional and political authority, with increased legal support for dissenters, new church foundations and a rise in non-Catholic senate numbers under his son Władysław in the 1630s. Władysław IV learnt from his father Zygmunt III's experience and affirmed political and confessional pluralism; the *compositio inter status* of 1635, which had been on the agenda since 1573, was a settlement with the Catholic Church on the terms of a confessionally diverse szlachta. This would not have been possible without Catholic support for non-Catholics as equal members of the noble estate. Poland-Lithuania was thus a rarity in contemporary Europe: confessional change occurred within a state built on toleration.

Poland-Lithuania was not governed so differently from her neighbours in the seventeenth century. The Holy Roman Empire, like the *Rzeczpospolita*, is also traditionally portrayed as a disintegrating polity, too large and diverse to survive in competition with increasingly 'modern' states like England and France. Territories within the Empire enjoyed greater self-government than in the Commonwealth, yet both faced the problem of how to incorporate areas with their own historic rights, multifarious ethnicities and opposing confessions. The *sonderweg* view of both the German and Polish states is now being questioned; 'western' governments were not so much more cohesive and also included representational and corporate elements.¹ Decentralisation did not automatically mean disintegration in Poland-Lithuania; the participation of szlachta in regional and national government from Great Poland was high. This continued from the 1580s into the 1640s, and devolution of powers to the sejmiki, far from distancing the szlachta from government, actually brought them closer to the centre. Szlachta used their regional representation in both chambers of the Sejm to influence royal decisions and policy constructively. Great Poland rose to some prominence during interregna, as the Archbishop of

¹ Joachim Whaley, *The Old Reich in Modern Memory? Recent controversies concerning the 'relevance' of early modern German history* (unpublished paper given at the Workshop on Early Modern German History, German Historical Institute London, 31 May 2002); Robert Evans, "The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy in International Context" and Ian Green, "The Development of Monarchies in Western Europe c.1500-1800" both in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy*, pp.25-35, pp.39-57.

Gniezno took the reins of power, yet leadership by the head of the Catholic Church did not prevent dissenters from actively shaping government between reigns.

Yet in terms of religion, Poland-Lithuania really stood out. Polish liberty of conscience was remarkable; the unwillingness of monarchs or the whole szlachta to enforce any single reformation in the sixteenth century set the foundations for toleration in the seventeenth, making the official settlement of 1573 early, extensive and lasting. No one church could exclusively dominate in a state that was accustomed to confessional difference within it; centuries before Luther's reform, the Orthodox were there. Though historians of the Uniate churches have justly questioned how far such church harmony extended, the Commonwealth thrived on this diversity.

The combination of political, social and confessional inclusion within a devolved Commonwealth meant that Great Poland's dissenters enjoyed freedom from violence, of worship and to hold office, which were the keys to practical toleration. Thus the Warsaw Confederation was upheld even under Zygmunt, and reaffirmed under Władysław. Excluding the anti-Trinitarian Socinians and acknowledging that many more signatories were Catholic made it possible to offer other non-Catholics more, too. The 1632 settlement was broadened explicitly to include the right to worship for the Orthodox and signatory churches of Sandomierz, the right to prosecute clergy for causing confessional conflict, and to condemn unjust Tribunal rulings drawing on the legal milestone of 1627; all these were affirmed in the 1648 version, meaning that Great Poland's dissenters remained the most secure in Europe. The Confederation was extended to define freedom from violence through constitutions on tumults from 1593 to 1631; while unrest occurred in royal cities, dissenters did not leave the regional capitals and noble patrons ensured their protection in other towns. The freedom to hold office was upheld by a szlachta that chose their representatives in consultation with the crown. This political defence was only possible with Catholic support; as Great Poland's sejmiki instructions and activity in the Sejm make clear that the Catholic and non-Catholic szlachta wanted toleration, not just tolerance.

Liberty of conscience was so successful because it connected self-determination in religion to a strong szlachta tradition of political self-determination and defence of their rights. The devolved nature of Commonwealth government allowed the szlachta to choose confessional plurality over homogeneity. Great Poland's social composition also fostered participative government. The szlachta estate was cohesive under the first two Wazas, not polarised by a 'magnate oligarchy' but broadly socially and economically stratified and bound together through alliances across the Commonwealth and beyond, while szlachta involvement in appointments meant they shaped their own regional elite. These informal networks strengthened formal government; the szlachta saw themselves as active decision-makers, with their senatorial leaders representing the whole estate to the monarch.

The szlachta co-governed with the monarch in the central Sejm, ruled in the regions through the sejmiki and law courts, and were lords of their own landed estates in the localities; while holders of royal estates, they were powerful patrons in their own right. The Warsaw Confederation guaranteed freedom of confession to the political class, the szlachta, not townspeople or peasants, so it was the noble estate which had the greatest authority to implement toleration on the ground, despite any efforts by the Catholic hierarchy or monarch to undermine the Confederation. The szlachta could do this because land was power; it was a passport to patronage and influence in the Commonwealth.

The szlachta of Poznań and Kalisz held three quarters of the land, while the church held one tenth. The politically dominant group were middling landowners, the group from which dissenter patrons and Sejm deputies were drawn. Szlachta members of all churches used their land to support toleration. Confession was no object in szlachta networks, as nobles cultivated allies and clients of all confessions were prominent in regional and parliamentary office. A quarter of Great Poland's castellans and one third of Sejm envoys took dissenter views to central government under Zygmunt and his son.

Catholic and non-Catholic szlachta afforded protection of dissenter communities from tumults, as in Wschowa and Międzyrzecz, and against the return of church buildings to Catholic hands, as in Śmigiel. Patrons of all confessions encouraged dissenter church survival and revival; they supported dislocated congregations, as in Poznań and Śwarzędz, and built new churches which compensated for those dissenters lost, as in Rawicz. Noble patrons encouraged different confessional communities to work together, and sponsored education, as in Leszno.

In churches led by the szlachta, confessional boundaries crystallised slowly. Despite the drive towards conformity of doctrine and worship from church centres abroad, whether Rome, Wittenberg or Moravia, churches in Great Poland were distinguished by their ability to work together and the continuous crossover between confessions. This regional permeability of denominational boundaries, from exchange of books to marriage, schooling, formal synods and acknowledgement of each other's clergy, went particularly deep in Great Poland because of the four-way interaction of Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Czech Brethren; in the rest of the Commonwealth, usually two of these dominated. Exchange and close contact between confessions was sustained by immigration, particularly of Lutherans and Czech Brethren from the region's Habsburg and Brandenburg neighbours. As a result religious conflict was limited in word and deed; Protestant censors were less active in Great Poland and tumults were restrained. Lutherans and Reformed were working on a joint statement of unity in the mid 1640s for the Colloquium Charitativum. Local Catholics were actively critical of new orders, particularly the Jesuits, for causing unrest between confessions, through their schools and foundations or tumults. Secular clergy also recognised the need for peace between confessions. A vernacular Catholic Bible was even produced and used into the 1630s. Thus Great Poland was in a position to lead co-operation between churches in the *Rzeczpospolita*. The Czech Brethren were instrumental in this, sending ministers to Lutherans in Royal Prussia, and Calvinists elsewhere. So the drive to church collaboration in Great Poland also impacted on neighbouring provinces, when churches were polarising across the continent.

Following Great Poland's lead, Poland-Lithuania chose confessional self-determination through a state built on toleration. This was a gradual swell of reconversion to the Roman Church; no one reformation was strong enough to overrule the others, and Catholics still wanted and needed to work with dissenters. Non-Catholic confessions remained socially and politically included, rather than facing a monoculture of Catholicism imposed from above. The 1570 Consensus of Sandomierz, published conflicting theologies of the Eucharist side by side and set up a framework for co-operation between its signatory churches which had a lasting impact; the joint synods which the Consensus instigated in the 1570s went on to include the Orthodox in the 1590s, two signatory churches, the Calvinists and Czech Brethren, unified in Great Poland and then the Commonwealth in the 1620s and 30s, and Lutherans and Orthodox again joined the Reformed Church, echoing the Sandomierz process in preparations for the Colloquium in the 1640s. So dissenters in Poland-Lithuania were used to political coalitions that allowed for doctrinal differences.

Commonwealth Catholicism was gaining ground, but only in partnership with the szlachta; they too favoured this devolved understanding of church authority, as is clear from their mixed reception of Tridentine reform and conflict with the Jesuits, - exemplified by the dispute with the Kraków and Lubrański Academies - noble alliances with and patronage of non-Catholics. A Catholic monarch acknowledged the diversity of belief among his subjects by calling them to dialogue in the Colloquium Charitativum. Bridging the gap between crown and szlachta in the Sejm and sejmiki, constitutionalist Catholics upheld liberty of conscience as part of szlachta liberty. It is no accident that senatorial mediators between the estates also took on the role of mediators between confessions. Examples in Great Poland include Aleksander Koniecpolski and Jan Ostroróg in the *rokosz*. Jan's son Mikołaj, joined by senators from other provinces like Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński, were key mediators in pushing through the *compositio inter status*.

Great Poland's confessional diversity was remarkable, and this was sustained by the steady political representation of regional dissenters as Sejm envoys, when other provinces were sending more and more Catholic deputies. Otherwise, the province matched existing Commonwealth trends in both

church and state. The number of dissenter churches in the region was halfway between the other two major regions, more than in Little Poland yet fewer than in Lithuania. Great Poland saw its number of dissenter churches halve from 1591-1655, while in Little Poland nearly three quarters and in Lithuania less than a quarter were lost from Zygmunt III's Catholicising drive to the eve of the Deluge. By the mid-17th century the number of dissenter communities in the region was around 120. Mercyng calculates that in 1591 there were 120 Polish and 110 German congregations in Great Poland, making a reduction of 48% by 1655, though dissenter foundations increased under Władysław IV. In Little Poland the decline was a far steeper 72%, from 250 to 69 Protestant churches in the same period, while in Lithuania the reduction was just 14%, from 191 to 164.² In terms of senatorial representation, Great Poland's dissenters followed the same Commonwealth trend, and the pattern of increased senatorial representation under Władysław in all provinces suggests that they felt the impact of royal policy in the same way.

The political inclusion and church co-operation in Great Poland reflects the reality of a multiethnic Commonwealth. Thus this regional study is important for understanding Poland-Lithuania as a whole. The extent to which provinces were integrated is much debated.³ The relationship between them has been compared to that of the countries in the United Kingdom.⁴ Lithuania in particular asserted her separateness; opinion on the union with Poland was divided in the sixteenth century. Her senators continued to sit apart from the others and the monarch called separate convocations for the principality still under Zygmunt III.⁵ Yet the provinces understood their identity as part of a wider Commonwealth and thus were able to act cohesively. Regional envoys worked together in the Sejm; government structures also emphasised the division of responsibility between provinces, so that they had as equal as possible an influence on decision-making. The office of *marszałek* in the Sejm

² Dworzaczekowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p.570; Mercyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, pp.14-16.

³ See Oswald Backus, "The problem of unity in the Polish Lithuanian State" with responses by Oskar Halecki and Janas Jakestas in *Slavic Review* 22 (1963), pp.411-431, pp.432-441, pp.442-449. Backus argues that the Commonwealth was never really unified due to economic problems, cultural and religious diversity; Halecki challenges this arguing that diversity is possible within a political union and unity does not mean uniformity. But Jakestas sees the fact that the Lithuanians first used the *liberum veto*, in 1652, as indicating their separate interests.

⁴ The Polish-Lithuanian Union is compared to that between England and Scotland forty years later; Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland volume 1* (Oxford, 1981) p.59.

⁵ Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Litewskie rady Senatu w XVII w." in Matwijowski (ed.), *Studia*, pp.84-93 (p.93); Jūratė Kiaupienė, "The Grand Duchy and Grand Duke of Lithuania in the Sixteenth Century: Reflections on National Politics and the Union of Lublin" in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy*, pp.82-92.

rotated between Lithuania, Great and Little Poland, and Sejm commissions also appointed two representatives from each of these parts of the Commonwealth. Sarmatism also gave szlachta of all provinces a shared ideology.⁶ Great Poland's political activists from parliamentarians to the greatest patrons found allies in other provinces, as the Rokosz of Sandomierz illustrates.

The best test of whether confessionalisation was excluding dissenters from state building in the Commonwealth is whether religious dissent was tied to political dissent. If only non-Catholics opposed the crown, this implies that the monarch and Roman hierarchy had been successful in promoting Catholics over others. Rejecting established Catholicism (the religion of the monarch, which gave him authority on his coronation) was the logical first step to rebellion and conspiracy, according to Roman polemicists. Dissenters were more politically active, so they challenged and changed the course of government. Yet they were not cipher figures of opposition; there were loyal dissenters and rebellious Catholics. The szlachta was aware of the impact of state-imposed confessionalisation from conflict in neighbouring territories; members of all churches had reason to oppose it.

Dissenters were integrated into government and society and had every reason to be loyal to the *Rzeczpospolita*. As the example of Great Poland shows, and the Commonwealth dissenter synods confirm, dissenter relations with royal authority were usually good. Non-Catholics worked hard to counter the stereotype that they were undermining internal and external security and peace. They stressed their allegiance in appeals to the crown, after tumults and before the Colloquium Charitativum. This was more than empty rhetoric: loyal dissenters from the *rokosz* to the Deluge knew that they could still influence government from the inside. Dissenter parliamentarians, particularly Jan Schlichting and the Orzelskis were active defenders of Protestant, Orthodox and thus szlachta liberties in general. They formed state policy and noble opinion on these issues, using the accepted channels of the Sejm and sejmiki, and enjoying the extra room for manoeuvre afforded them in interregna. Religious non-conformity did not mean exclusion from and

⁶ Andrzej Kamiński, "The Cossack experiment in szlachta democracy: the Hadiacz Union" in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 nr. 2 (1977), pp.178-197 (pp.188-189); Janusz Maciejewski,

condemnation of the existing power structures, but it did mean taking the opportunity to improve them wherever possible, not only for freedom of conscience.

Zygmunt III faced opposition on his accession from the highest-ranking Protestant and Catholic in Great Poland: Archbishop of Gniezno Karnkowski and Lutheran Palatine of Poznań Stanisław Górka, the region's leading dissenter patron. After Górka's death, opposition continued under Catholic Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and was led in the *rokosz* by Catholic Michał Zebrzydowski and Calvinist Janusz Radziwiłł, in Great Poland by Catholic Piotr Łaszcz and Czech Brother Marcin Broniewski, with many Lutheran participants. Dissenters were leading challengers to royal policy in the *rokosz*, up to and during the Deluge; Rafał Leszczyński, Broniewski and the Arciszewskis in Great Poland were joined by Lithuanian Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Yet they were always joined by leading tolerant Catholics, the Leszczyńskis and Krzysztof Opaliński in Great Poland and Zbaraski brothers in Little Poland. Catholics had as much reason as dissenters did to challenge royal authority, defending the same understanding of *szlachta* participation in government, which included toleration. Great Poland's regional experience is reflected on a Commonwealth level, as civil war only occurred at each end of the Waza period, when the balance between estates and confessions was disturbed by the confessionalising and centralising efforts of the crown.

Thus the *Rokosz* of Sandomierz did not mark the triumph of 'magnate oligarchy' and Tridentine Catholicism, but rather a challenge to Zygmunt III and his attempt to further the Catholic Reformation. The *rokosz* made the monarch aware that the *szlachta* would not accept any infringement on their share in Commonwealth government. Senators, particularly from Great Poland, which was in a unique position of distance from both monarch and rising, acted as a bridge in this conflict to restore the functioning relationship between ruling estates. In opposition during and after the rising, in which Great Poland played an increasingly active role, all confessions united against the alliance with the Habsburgs, whose model of joint dominance by a strong monarch and expanding Catholic Church symbolised absolutism, and appeared to threaten the Commonwealth model of devolution.

"Sarmatyzm jako formacja kulturowa" in *Teksty* 16 nr. 4 (1974), pp.13-42 (pp.21-27).

The *rokosz* goals were achieved by the death of Władysław IV, restoring szlachta influence on a mixed government to balance that of the crown and restoring a dissenter voice for toleration to restrain the Catholic Reformation. Władysław affirmed the ideals of 1573 from his election in 1632 to the Colloquium in 1645. This reorientation away from post-Tridentine Rome guaranteed him much more noble support than his father could muster.

The *compositio inter status*, settled with the Catholic Church on szlachta terms, was a milestone for dissenters, since szlachta landowners were *kolatorowie*, patrons of parishes on their estates. The *compositio* regulated tithes, protected noble land from secession to the Catholic Church and increased szlachta jurisdiction over cases of conflict with the Roman clergy, within the *Rzeczpospolita*; the hierarchy was well aware that this increased noble control of property and jurisdiction meant greater security for dissenters. Disputes were judged by szlachta in Commonwealth courts, with restrictions on clerical judges and without recourse to Rome. The settlement had the effect of supporting non-Catholic churches, in courts up to the Crown Tribunal and on noble land protected from takeover by the Catholic Church. The Orthodox benefited further from their own settlement which was reached in the same year, under which churches were returned to them from Catholic hands. The *compositio* was especially fiercely fought for and stringently applied in Great Poland, as the analysis of court cases has demonstrated. The 1635 settlement was a framework for the Catholic Church in the Commonwealth to co-operate with a confessionally diverse szlachta, just as crown and nobles worked together in a mixed government.

Great Poland did not feel confessional or regional distance from the centre under Władysław IV; dissenter immigrants integrated with the locals and only a radical fringe began to criticise the Polish model of government from exile when confessional differences started hardening with the Deluge in the 1650s. Even the Socinians' official expulsion in 1658 was ignored by regional szlachta: the Polish Brethren found Catholic patrons and held synods into the 1660s. Until then, confessional diversity was just one of many plural identities, and religious dissent did not mean political disaffection with the Commonwealth.

So confessionalisation occurred with the destruction rather than the construction of the state; toleration had helped, not hindered state building in the Commonwealth context. A decentralised, pluralistic confessional landscape might stall the development of the modern state.⁷ Religious and political decentralisation were intimately connected, but Lipsius was wrong: it was possible to have a functioning plural state, with different church and regional identities. The demise of this pluralism was the demise of Poland-Lithuania; religious liberty crumbled exactly when the state gave in to external pressures. This did not occur in the *rokosz* at the turn of the seventeenth century; instead began during the Deluge, taking hold at the turn of the eighteenth century, when Poland-Lithuania was subjected to the insurmountable challenge of continuous war.

It was when majority noble opinion in the Commonwealth accepted the single ethno-religious model of statehood that it faced decline and collapse, as the different interests that had been included in one polity sought support and legitimisation elsewhere. The first cracks in the Commonwealth system appeared with the major disruption of Chmielnicki's rising in 1648, which led to civil war in the 1650s. Though Cossack risings had challenged the Commonwealth for decades before 1648, it was clear that the Cossacks were vital to the defence of the *Rzeczpospolita*, as they had been since the Union of Lublin. What the Cossack elite at least wanted was rights in return for their responsibilities; they aspired to *szlachta* status. Chmielnicki's rising was no different; their leader was prepared to negotiate with both Władysław IV and his half-brother Jan Kazimierz, seeing the Cossacks as part of the Commonwealth. The *szlachta* disagreed, fearing that the Cossacks would give their monarch too much military strength. Yet the division of Polish-Catholic versus Ukrainian-Orthodox was still far from clear.⁸ Confessionalisation polarising Lutherans and Catholics in Royal Prussia also took root during the Deluge, yet the Prussians only rejected Commonwealth government and the Sarmatian model of liberty in the eighteenth century. By then Polishness and Catholicism were becoming more important for identity and loyalty in the *Rzeczpospolita*, while its rulers associated Protestantism and Orthodoxy more

⁷ Eberhard, "Voraussetzungen", p.103.

and more with threatening foreign states, as the Royal Prussians and Cossacks rejected them.⁹ Thus dissenters in the Polish Kingdom began to be labelled as dissidents too.

So the Deluge was the real hiatus; the resulting political damage upset confessional relations. War with Sweden from the 1655-60 invasion gradually took its toll, culminating in the Great Northern War of 1700-21, where Poland-Lithuania was a major theatre of Swedish, Danish and Muscovite conflict.¹⁰ Other causes for the break-up of the Commonwealth also took hold in the 1660s: the end of the Waza dynasty shook the unity of crown and szlachta, and they increasingly conflicted as the nobility held to the 'execution' ideals, continuing to resist royal plans to secure a successor *vivente rege*. Yet both chambers of the Sejm worked with the monarch, continuing the tradition of mixed government until the turn of the eighteenth century, when other states agreed on centralising reform and taxation to fund armies, heralding the development of a modern bureaucracy. The Commonwealth was unable to 'modernise' like its neighbours, not least as foreign pressure increasingly blocked such reforms in Poland-Lithuania, making her incapable of defending her political structures.¹¹ Catholicism's final victory over other confessions concurred with this collapse of Commonwealth defences, when mixed government buckled under the strain of war. This breakdown originated in the end, rather than the beginning, of the period of Waza rule. Only with the destruction of the state was the coupling of Catholicism with Polishness finally sealed.¹²

The Commonwealth was not alone in resisting state confessionalisation through a plural government, as reinterpretations of the original 'confessionalisers' indicate. The Holy Roman Empire, where Protestantism originated, formally supported the existence of confessionally distinct territories in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, but even here, confessionalisation occurred 'from below', as well as above. Speyer is a particularly interesting

⁸ Carsten Kumke, "Zwischen der polnischen Adelsrepublik und dem Russischen Reich (1569-1657)" in Frank Golczewski (ed.), *Geschichte der Ukraine* (Göttingen, 1993) pp.58-91.

⁹ Müller, "Protestant Confessionalisation", pp.262ff., pp.280-281; Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*, pp.131-132, pp.217-220; Frost, "Confessionalisation and the Army", pp.155ff.

¹⁰ Markiewicz, "The functioning", pp.182-183.

¹¹ Editor's introduction to Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy*, pp.13-19; Frost, *After the Deluge*, pp.11ff.

¹² Lukowski, *The Partitions*, pp.2-8.

example of this grassroots shift.¹³ As in the *Rzeczpospolita*, confessional differences only hardened after the exhaustion of war; a plurality of secular and spiritual authorities and the localisation of power meant that no one church could dominate the others. In this south German context, confessionalisation occurred locally, without a centralised state. Another notable case at the opposite end of the Holy Roman Empire is that of Brandenburg, where (after 1613) the Calvinist court compromised with the Lutheranism of its subjects; the rulers could not impose its own confessional choice on the population in the face of the resistance of established Lutheran communities. This suited their estates, who governed from diverse regional and cultural backgrounds.¹⁴ In this north German context, toleration, not confessional determinism, was the foundation of the state.

In Central Europe before the 1650s, the formation of national identity does not appear tied to confession, in contrast to countries further north and south. A study of national histories written by proponents of all reformations makes clear that there was no easy link between confessional identity and writing the nation's past in sixteenth-century Central Europe. In contrast, northern European national histories, such as the Swedish, Danish and Scottish were written from the perspective of one reformation, though this took longer to emerge.¹⁵ In the south, Spain, Portugal and Italy were crusaders of the Catholic Reformation, using the Inquisition and producing the majority of new orders and saints. In Ireland, Catholic identity and political opposition to English rule usually – not always – went hand in hand; perhaps the most vivid example of confessionalisation against the state.¹⁶

In Western Europe too, confessionalisation also occurred from below; as in the German lands, the citizens were equally if not more important than the state in shaping religious change. While countries to the north and south committed to one confession, France and England took longer to make up their minds. England's "long reformation" lasted generations. As on mainland Europe, the Catholic and Protestants shared humanist heritage and desire to

¹³ Forster, *Catholic Revival*, pp.12-16, pp.208-210; idem., *The Counter Reformation* pp.2ff., p.247.

¹⁴ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People and Confession* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp.1-4; Evans, "The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy", p.33.

¹⁵ Norbert Kersken, "Reformation and the Writing of National History in East-Central and Northern Europe" in Karin Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (St. Andrews, 1997,) pp.50-71.

¹⁶ Po-chia Hsia, *The World*, pp.42-43, p.88.

reform their church created a common “middle ground” in the sixteenth century, and it is only later in Elizabeth I’s reign (1558-1603), that a “second Reformation” began to alienate Catholics.¹⁷ The Church of England exploited these shared roots, holding a broad spectrum from Laudians to Puritans within its fold into the seventeenth century; the state church failed to establish a discipline structure to replace the confessional. While the Toleration Act of 1689 recognised even Baptists and Quakers, by now Nonconformists had moved outside the state church and “the anti-Catholic factor” enabled this bill to be passed.¹⁸

In France, after a period of institutionalised toleration, state building from above eventually realigned with the confessionalisation occurring from below. France’s settlement was shorter-lived than Poland’s; the Edict of Nantes came into force in 1598 and was revoked in 1685. The edict was aided by the estates’ reluctance to hand church authority to the crown as England had done, though it enforced religious peace from the centre too, through military commanders and royal commissioners. Though a broader civic toleration was tried in the early 1630s, once Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) openly associated heresy with rebellion against the civil powers, the restoration of a unified church and royal authority was inevitable.¹⁹ Royal policy thus followed what the estates had decided; a political nation hostile to toleration limited community co-existence. Confessions defined themselves against each other despite state toleration; Protestants made a point of eating meat on fast days and working on feast days.²⁰ Yet this hostile environment was countered by “private pluralism”, where mixed marriages were surprisingly frequent and intellectuals exchanged books and letters.²¹ Thus there are parallels with the Polish example of confessional crossover outlined in this thesis, though French pluralism did not receive the same support from the noble estate.

¹⁷ Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), pp.270-272.

¹⁸ Eamon Duffy, “The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the multitude”; Patrick Collinson, “Comment on Eamon Duffy’s Neale Lecture and the Colloquium” in Nicolas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp.33-70, pp.71-86; Nicolas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), pp.12-13, p.27, pp.61-76.

¹⁹ Alain Tallon, “Gallicanism and Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France”; Penny Roberts, “Religious Pluralism in Practice: the Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification”; Richard Bonney, “The Obstacles to Pluralism” all in Keith Cameron et al. (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France* (Bern, 2000), pp.15-30, pp.31-44, pp.209-230 (p.27, pp.32-34, pp.220-229).

²⁰ Philip Benedict, “*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*: Parameters for the History of Catholic-Reformed co-existence in France 1555-1685” in Grell and Schribner (eds.), *Tolerance*, pp.65-93 (pp.82-84).

²¹ Mark Greengrass, “Epilogue: The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France” in Cameron et al. (eds.), *The Adventure*, pp.305-318.

The Dutch Golden Age has, as in Poland and France, been seen as an age of toleration; religious minorities from Mennonites to Jews flocked to the Netherlands, yet Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia suggests that sixteenth-century Poland-Lithuania was a more tolerant state. Catholic attacks on the Reformed in the Spanish Netherlands provoked the resistance on which the Free Netherlands was founded. Yet in the United Provinces, the minority Calvinist Church opposed any official status for Catholics from the start, and though there was huge regional variation in toleration, anti-Catholic legislation existed into the eighteenth century.²²

So in East-Central Europe, as in the Netherlands, perhaps confessionalisation was happening anyway. Resistance to the Catholic Reformation could merely have been an attempt to counter it with the Protestant one. Transylvania was led by Calvinist princes, who allied with the Reformed clergy, both to strengthen their own hand and to confessionalise; the estates resisted the imposition of both the Calvinist Church and Habsburg Catholicism. As in the Commonwealth, a dominant Reformed and devolved confessional tradition accompanied by a decentralised political tradition led nobles from all churches to resist the centralisation of power in church and state.²³ Bohemia and Moravia before the Habsburg victory in 1620 had, like Poland-Lithuania, a long tradition of pragmatic toleration well before Luther's Reformation, through their Hussite heritage.²⁴ Even in the Habsburg Empire, the Catholic Reformation took time to permeate, yet the decisive factor was the reduced ability of the nobles to protect dissenters on their lands, which were confiscated from those defeated at White Mountain.²⁵ In the Habsburg territories, as in the Holy Roman Empire, it was a combination of renewed popular piety and state policy which carried the reformations through. The Catholic Reformation thus succeeded by grafting confessional orthodoxy onto traditional spirituality.²⁶

²² Andrew Pettegree, "The Politics of Toleration in the Free Netherlands 1572-1620" in Grell and Schribner (eds.), *Tolerance*, pp.182-198; Editor's introduction to Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2000), p.2.

²³ Murdock, *Calvinism*, pp.256-257.

²⁴ Jaroslav Pánek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation" in Grell and Schribner (eds.), *Tolerance*, pp.231-248.

²⁵ Robert Johnston Gordon, "Patronage and Parish: the Nobility and the Recatholicisation of Lower Austria" in Maag (ed.), *The Reformation*, pp.211-224 (p.212, pp.221-222).

²⁶ Po-chia Hsia, *The World*, p.75, p.78, pp.186-187.

Thus though the *Rzeczpospolita* shared an East-Central European heritage of state and church pluralism, she kept this longer than her neighbours, wary of the impact that the Habsburg method of rule could have if introduced into her territories; 1620 was not a cut-off point for the Commonwealth. Noble backing was the crucial factor; in contrast to the Habsburg lands, szlachta protection continued to support dissenter communities on their estates in Poland-Lithuania. Tolerant Catholics were vital; szlachta who held the Roman faith themselves but did not force it on others, and helped dissenters to prevent their monarch from doing so. Church and crown were thus limited in their ability to enforce Catholicisation by noble affirmation of liberty of conscience as a political liberty, protected within their extensive jurisdiction and on their landed property. This szlachta support acted as a key brake on church polarisation.

The Commonwealth szlachta sought to make their government work better while respecting particular rights, devolving both political and confessional power from the centre to the regions, from the Reformations to the Deluge. The return to Catholicism in the seventeenth century took place within this framework – gradually, with as much contribution from ‘below’ as from ‘above’, not imposed by a central authority of a Counter Reforming Pope or crown but in co-operation with a confessionally diverse szlachta. The *compositio inter status* of 1635 symbolised this synergy; this settlement of church-state conflicts over property and jurisdiction affirmed the principles of the Warsaw Confederation that a nobility which differed on religious matters should decide for itself about confession.

The Commonwealth was a multiconfessional, not a confessional state. The szlachta of Great Poland wanted to keep it that way under Zygmunt and Władysław, and they did so. Great Poland’s unique geopolitical situation, the resulting immigration and international contacts supported an extraordinarily diverse confessional landscape. This was sustained by an integrated szlachta estate where the elite, parliamentarians and the smallest landowners shared power, regardless of their different beliefs. This enabled the province to lead the *Rzeczpospolita* in affirming the Warsaw Confederation, that the szlachta were equal though they differed about religion. The model of state authority – mixed government by the three partners of crown, senatorial and non-

senatorial szlachta – was paralleled in the model of church authority – three branches of Christianity, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant all had rights as Commonwealth churches; together they strove to build the best possible state without absolutism, spiritual or temporal. Poland-Lithuania was the largest example of how churches reformed in a territory with respect for a balance of ruling forces and confessional difference; toleration, not confessional polarisation, was part of Commonwealth building.

The *Rzeczpospolita* makes the development of mono-confessional nation states look far from inevitable; there were alternative paths of development in early modern Europe. In view of the later history of the Jews in Poland their position in the early modern period seems even more astonishing than the plural landscape of Christian confessions in the old Commonwealth. From the British context, ‘uniting kingdoms’ are familiar, though the Polish expanding, vanishing from the map and relocation of peoples is more difficult for these island nations to grasp. This is easier to understand today, when national states are becoming less important. In a Europe of shifting borders and multiple identities, where faith and a supposed ‘clash of civilisations’ are hot issues again, the Polish-Lithuanian model of pluralism in state and church is worth remembering.

a) Glossary

<i>antemurale</i>	The idea that Poland-Lithuania formed a bulwark of western Christianity against the pagan east.
castellan	Originally commanders of royal castles, castellans (<i>kasztelan</i>), both major (for key royal towns) and minor (for lesser towns), sat in the Senate.
Commonwealth	Called in Polish the <i>Rzeczpospolita</i> (<i>res publica</i>), this was the whole state encompassing the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown (<i>korona</i>) made up of Great Poland (of which Mazovia was an administrative part) and Little Poland (including Podlasia, Volhynia and Ukraine), Royal Prussia, Livonia, the vassal duchies of Prussia and Courland.
<i>compositio inter status</i>	The agreement of areas of jurisdiction between the clergy and szlachta estates, including ownership of tithes, finally settled with papal approval in 1635. This was an important affirmation of religious plurality, limiting Catholic clerics in secular jurisdictions and giving nobles more autonomy to support dissenting churches.
Crown Tribunal	Established in 1578, this was the highest court of appeal in the Commonwealth, where nobles were judged by their peers, under szlachta, no longer royal jurisdiction. Lithuania had its own Tribunal from 1581.
Deluge	In Polish, <i>Potop</i> ; the civil war and Swedish invasion of 1655-60.
Hetman	The military commanders, a grand and field one each for Poland and Lithuania.
<i>ius indigenatus</i>	Rights and immunities such as the right to hold land or office, granted by birth to members of the noble estate and usually to land owners, which could also be applied to individual provinces of the Commonwealth.
<i>liberum veto</i>	In 1652, the first deputy blocked legislation Sejm or legislation, using the principle of unanimity to justify this. A deputy drawing on the <i>liberum veto</i> broke up the Sejm, meaning no laws could be passed.
Marshal of the Court (<i>marszałek nadworny</i>)	These administered the royal court when the king was in the Crown (Poland) or Lithuania respectively, taking responsibility for, access to and security of the monarch, judging crimes which occurred at court.
<i>marszałek sejmowy</i>	elected 'Speaker' in the Chamber of Envoys of the Sejm. From 1569 this office rotated between Lithuania, Great and Little Poland.

mixed government	Rule based on the classical <i>forma mixta</i> , that is, combining the authority of monarchy, nobility and <i>politeia</i> .
<i>Pacta Conventa</i>	The conditions by which each new monarch swore to abide on election; if he broke this oath, the szlachta withdraw their loyalty to him. It included the Henrician Articles, drawn up for the 1573 election of Henri Valois.
palatinate (<i>województwo</i>)	An administrative division of the Commonwealth, usually divided into smaller territories (<i>ziemia</i>) and local districts (<i>powiaty</i>), governed by a palatine (<i>wojewoda</i>).
<i>pisarz</i>	Latin, <i>notarius</i> ; "writer", aid to the judge at the local district (<i>ziemski</i>) or territorial (<i>grodzki</i>) court.
<i>proces konfederacji</i>	The process of enforcing the principles of toleration of the Warsaw Confederation in practice, to ensure real and lasting equality between confessions, with legal support.
<i>rokosz</i>	A traditional noble rising against the crown.
Sejm	The parliament, made up of two chambers, Senate (including two estates, the monarch and the senatorial szlachta; bishops, palatines, castellans and ministers of government) and the third estate, non-senatorial szlachta in the Chamber of Envoys (<i>izba poselska</i>), whose members were elected by local diets or sejmiki.
Socinians	Also called 'Polish Brethren' or 'Arians'; an anti-Trinitarian and anabaptist church, named after its Italian founder, Faustus Socinus.
<i>sędzia grodowe</i>	local <i>gród</i> official chosen by the <i>starosta</i> to act as judge at the <i>gród</i> court for a fixed term.
<i>sędzia ziemskie</i>	The office of <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> , territorial <i>gród</i> court official, judging at the <i>ziemskie</i> or territorial court, was granted for life.
<i>spisek orleański</i>	A plot to put the French Duke Gaston d'Orleans on the Polish throne in 1625-6.
<i>starosta</i>	Title of a noble who administered a <i>starostwo</i> or royal estate, which the monarch leased out usually for life, in theory as a reward for public service but in practice many passed from father to son.
szlachta	The whole nobility, whose privileges included the right to elect the monarch; all szlachta were equal before the law. This included both the Senate and Chamber of Envoys. In specific reference to non-senators, terms such as "non-senatorial" or "lower house" are used.
<i>vivente rege</i>	Election <i>vivente rege</i> determined a successor during the king's lifetime; this was banned from 1529 to 1791.

b) Chronological Table

- 1569 Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania
- 1570 Consensus of Sandomierz between Commonwealth Protestants

King Henri Valois (1573-4)

- 1573 Henrician Articles & Pacta Conventa; defines noble privileges and royal rule
Warsaw Confederation guarantees liberty of conscience to all szlachta
Foundation of Poznań Jesuit College

King Stefan I Batory (1576-86)

- 1578 Crown Tribunal established as highest court of appeal

King Zygmunt III Waza (1587-1632)

- 1592 Stanisław Górka dies; Lutherans can no longer worship in his Poznań palace
- 1595 Synod of Toruń – Protestants affirm the Consensus of Sandomierz
- 1596 Union of Brześć between Catholics and Orthodox
- 1599 Synod of Wilno – Protestants & non-Uniate Orthodox agree to work together politically. Though hopes of theological union fail they are proposed.
- 1606-9 Rokosz of Sandomierz – szlachta rising and civil war
- 1609 Protestant szlachta protest against Bishop of Poznań's attempts to close their churches
- 1618 Last Poznań tumult
- 1625-6 *spisek orleański* – conspiracy to make French Gaston d'Orleans Polish king
- 1627 Crown Tribunal ruling against Protestants on the tumult of Lublin
Union of Czech Brethren & Calvinists in Great Poland
- 1633-4 Union of Czech Brethren & Calvinists in Little Poland

King Władysław IV Waza (1632-48)

- 1635 Settlement of *compositio inter status* defining clerical and noble jurisdictions
- 1645 Colloquium Charitativum – dialogue between confessions organised by the king at Toruń

King Jan Kazimierz Waza (1648-68)

- 1648 "Chmielnicki's Rebellion" – Cossack rising
- 1655 Great Poland capitulates to Swedes at Ujście – Deluge (civil war and Swedish invasion) begins
- 1660 Peace of Oliwa – end of the Deluge
- 1665-6 Lubomirski Rokosz

c) Dramatis Personae

The alphabetical list below contains all the szlachta from Great Poland mentioned in this thesis, including the following details as far as they could be ascertained:

Name (dates) positions with dates held; confession & education; key information on family & alliances; political attitudes & activity (as shorthand, Regalist & Republican are terms used for pro-crown & pro-szlachta, or opposition to the crown); attitudes to foreign neighbours; writings and other notes.

This data has been collated from a wide range of sources, including Adam Bieniaszewski (ed.), *Urzędnicy wielkopolscy XVI-XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1987), regional & national dictionaries of biography, and the primary sources & monographs on Great Poland used in the thesis.

1. Arciszewski, Eljasz (1590-1655?) Soldier & military engineer; Socinian; 1619 to Krzysztof Radziwiłł's court, killed Brzeźnicki so infamy 1623; Deluge republican
2. Arciszewski, Krzysztof (1592-1656) General of artillery; Socinian; 1623 murder Brzeźnicki so banished to Holland 1623, Hague & France, client of Krzysztof Radziwiłł; republican, 1626 Orleans Plot
3. Arciszewski, Eljasz (d.1630) Socinian, Patron of Śmigiel community; wife Helena Zakrzewska daughter of Socinian activist Filip, sons Eljasz & Krzysztof above, who sadly for him had military careers, youngest son Bogusław
4. Baliński, Adam (d. 1602) 1590-1602 Castellan of Bydgoszcz; Lutheran
5. Baranowski, Maciej: 1589-1600 Under Chamberlain of Kalisz, 1600-4 Castellan of Biechowo
6. Baranowski, Wojciech: Castellan of Kamień 1624-40; Sejm deputy while a senator
7. Baranowski, Wojciech (1548-1615) 1581 Canon of Poznań, 1584 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1590 Bishop of Płock, 1607 Bishop of Cujavia, Archbishop of Gniezno 1608-1615, Deputy Chancellor 1586-91; Catholic Reformer; father Mikołaj, mother Zofia Gniazdowska, often accused of not being szlachta, Jan Zamoyski his patron under Batory, pro Zamoyski 1586, anti Karnkowski once he was Archbishop; Rokosz regalist, mediated with risers at 1609 Sejm
8. Bojanowski, Mikołaj: Lutheran senior at Wschowa, signed 1609 dissenter protest; Rokosz republican
9. Bojanowski, Stefan (ca.1605-1660) Cup-bearer of Poznań, Under Chamberlain of Poznań, Deputy Starosta of Poznań; active Lutheran patron & senior, 1638 founded town & church at Nowe Bojanowo & a church at Szemzdrawa, active in Colloquium; regalist in Deluge; Sejm deputy 1638, 1645, esp. 1651 to defend Lutheran interests, 1654, frequently attended the sejmik at Środa where he was also <i>marszałek</i>
10. Bojanowski, Świętosław: Lutheran patron in 1640s
11. Bojanowski, Wojciech: Lutheran patron in 1640s
12. Broniewski, Hieronim: Czech Brethren patron & Colloquium deputy; Sejm deputy 1640
13. Broniewski, Marcin (d. 1624) Czech Brethren; Rokosz republican; parliamentarian, 7 times deputy for Środa sejmik; son Jan, Radziwiłł & Krzysztof Ostrogski client
14. Broniewski, Jan: Czech Brethren patron & Colloquium deputy; father Marcin, Radziwiłł client
15. Bykowski, Jaksa Jan (d.1633), Starosta of Sieradz 1606-1632, 1616 Castellan of Konarsko-Sieradz, son of Stanisław, courtier, Sejm and Crown Tribunal deputy.
16. Bykowski, Jaksa Stanisław (1520-1624) Starosta of Sieradz 1586-1606, 1595 Castellan of Łęczyca, Palatine of Łęczyca; supported Zamoyski against the Habsburgs, Rokosz republican at Stężyca, regalist at Wiślica, royal envoy to the dissenter Synod of Toruń 1595.
17. Chojeński, Piotr (d. 1615) 1604-14 Castellan of Santok; anti Zamoyski 1590; Rokosz regalist
18. Chrzęstowski, Sędziwój, Calvinist patron in 1627

19. Cielicki, Krzysztof: 1602-20 Cup-bearer of Poznań, 1620-6 Castellan of Śrem
20. Ciświcki, Abraham (d. 1644) to 1627 Castellan of Bydgoszcz, 1627-44 Castellan of Śrem; Sejm deputy while a senator
21. Comenius Jan Amos (1592-1670) Czech Brethren leader, educated Heidelberg & Prague, arrived 1629 to teach at Leszno school, 1632 Czech Brethren senior, 1635 shared his school with the Lutherans; Rafał Leszczyński his patron at Leszno; Deluge republican; 1640s to England, Hungary & Royal Prussia; wrote <i>Labyrinth of the World</i> (1631), <i>Didactica Magna</i> (1658)
22. Czarnkowski, Adam Sędziwój (1555-1627) 1593-1627 General Starosta of Great Poland, 1605-28 Palatine of Łęczyca; Catholic - Knight of Malta commander for Poznań, patron of Poznań Carmelites, Poznań & Kraków Jesuits & Częstochowa monastery; close to Zamoyskis, Jan & Tomasz, 3 wives - one is Katarzyna Leszczyńska; regalist in Rokosz & under Zygmunt III, frequent Sejm deputy, 1592, 1596 & into 1620s; military career
23. Czarnkowski, Andrzej (d. 1618), 1591-2 Castellan of Kamień, 1593-7 Castellan of Nakło, 1598-9 Castellan of Rogalin, 1599-1606 Castellan of Kalisz, 1606-14 Palatine of Kalisz & Starosta of Inowrocław; Catholic; regalist before & during Rokosz
24. Czarnkowski, Jan (1597-8) Castellan of Santok, 1598-1600 Castellan of Nakło, 1601-18 Castellan of Międzyrzecz; Catholic; Rokosz regalist
25. Czarnkowski, Jan: 1640-1 Castellan of Kamień, Starosta of Drahim; Catholic; attended 1634 1635 I 1638 Sejms
26. Czarnkowski, Piotr (d. 1591) 1546-52 Castellan of Kalisz, 1552-90 Castellan of Poznań; Catholic; father Maciej, Castellan of Bydgoszcz, mother Katarzyna Opalińska, wife Regina Kościelecka, first m. to Palatine of Kalisz; anti Habsburg election 1586
27. Czarnkowski, Piotr: 1591-1609 Under Chamberlain of Poznań, 1611-18 Castellan of Śrem; Catholic; father Stanisław, brother-in-law Piotr
28. Czarnkowski, Sędziwój Franciszek (d. 1655) 1627 Starosta of Międzyrzecz, 1649-55 Castellan of Poznań; Catholic – educated at Lubrański Academy; father Adam, Palatine of Łęczyca, mother Katarzyna Leszczyńska, wife 1 Konstancja Lubomirska, wife 2 Anna Wezherówna; Deluge regalist & organised defence of Great Poland; active in many Sejms: 1631 1641 1645 1647 1649
29. Czarnkowski, Stanisław (1526-1602), Royal Secretary, Royal Referendary; tolerant, perhaps dissenter – educated at Wittenberg & Leipzig universities, active with dissenters in 1579-80 Sejm; father Sędziwój, mother Barbara Pampowska, joined Górka faction 1586, continued to correspond with & support Maximilian Habsburg 1589-92; republican under Batory & Zygmunt III, Sejms 1560s, against Turkish League at 1594 & 1595 Sejms
30. Czarnkowski, Wojciech Sędziwój (d.1578) 1563-9 Castellan of Santok, 1568-78 General Starosta of Great Poland; Catholic; brother Stanisław, Royal Referendary, opposed by those who backed Batory – Stanisław Przyjemski, Stanisław Górka Świętosław Orzelski, who forced him out of political life; pro-Habsburg under Batory & 1587
31. Denhoff, Kasper: Palatine of Sieradz; Lutheran to Catholic convert by 1625; brother-in-law of Marcin Kazanowski, Grand Hetman; huge client network, someone at every Sejm for him, Koniecpolski, Wężyk Leszczyński families as main allies, links also with Radziwiłł & Ossoliński families; deputy of the Riga Sejmik in 1615
32. Firlej, Henryk (1599-1635) 1625 Canon of Kraków, Royal Secretary, 1616 Bishop of Łuck, 1617-26 Bishop of Płock, 1624- Archbishop of Gniezno, 1627 Abbot of Tyniec, 1631 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1635 Bishop of Poznań; Ingolstadt University; wealthy senatorial Lublin family - father Jan, Royal Under Treasurer, mother Gertruda Opalińska; regalist under Zygmunt & Władysław
33. Głoskowski, Maciej: Baliff of Kalisz; Czech Brethren patron & Colloquium deputy
34. Gajewski, Jan: <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz, Lord High Steward for Kalisz, 1587-8 Sejm

<i>marszałek, sędzia ziemskie</i> of Poznań 1581-95; Czech Brethren senior, also attended Lutheran synod 1583
35. Gajewski, Wojciech: Starosta of Wschowa 1646-7, Castellan of Rogoźno 1653-7
36. Gembicki, Andrzej: Coauditor of Łuck 1628, Bishop of Łuck 1638; regalist; alliances with Sapieha, Grudziński, Gostomski families; joined Jerzy Ossoliński's mission to Rome in 1633.
37. Gembicki, Krzysztof (d.1659) 1632 Starosta of Gniezno, 1636 Cup-bearer of Poznań, 1636-8 Royal Lord High Steward, 1638-45 Esquire Carver, 1639-53 Palatine of Łęczyca, 1645-53 Royal Carver, 1653-58 Castellan of Gniezno; ?Catholic, Bologna University; father Jan, Cup-Bearer of Poznań, mother Katarzyna Zaremba Cieliecka, 2 wife Krzystyna Sapieżanka widow of Stanisław Radziejowski, Palatine of Łęczyca; regalist, to court aged 15 in 1610s, under Zygmunt who gave him lots of land – four starostas, also under Jan Kazimierz, Deluge lent money to crown
38. Gembicki, Paweł (d. 1687) 1636-44 Cup-Bearer of Poznań, 1647-64 Castellan of Międzyrzecz, 1664-87 Castellan of Łęczyca; Catholic; father Stefan Palatine of Łęczyca, mother Elżbieta Grudzińska, uncle Krzysztof above, succeeded him as Cup-Bearer of Poznań; Deluge republican, leader at Ujście; 1639 Sejm for Łęczyca sejmik
39. Gembicki, Paweł: Castellan of Santok 1645
40. Gembicki, Piotr (?1637-48) Royal Chancellor; Catholic; regalist; fought in Russian, Turkish & Cossack wars, concerned about military confederations & pay
41. Gembicki, Stefan (d.1653) 1614-17 Cup-bearer of Kalisz, 1617-39 Castellan of Rogalin, 1620-31 Starosta of Nakło, <i>marszałek</i> of Crown Tribunal 1643; Catholic, three bishop brothers; father Jan Cup-Bearer of Poznań, brothers Krzysztof, Piotr Bishop of Kraków, Andrzej Bishop of Łuck, Jan Bishop of Chełm, wife Elżbieta Grudzińska, son Paweł; on <i>compositio</i> commission at Sejm of 1631; Sejm deputy for Łęczyca 1631, 1632, 1633, ie. deputy while a senator, attended Łęczyca sejmik 1648 1649
42. Gembicki, Wawrzyniec (1559-1624) 1587 Royal Secretary, 1600 Bishop of Chełm, 1610 Bishop of Włocławek, 1607 Deputy Royal Chancellor, 1616-24 Archbishop of Gniezno; educated in dissenter atmosphere at Chodzież, Lubrański Academy & Poznań Jesuit College, Ingolstadt Jesuit Academy & Kraków University, restored Jesuits to Toruń, settled the Jesuits near Gdańsk, but was against an Academy in Poznań "as he loved the Academy of Kraków", patron of the Bernadines, 1623 planned joint synod with Orthodox on Uniate & disuniate commission at Sejm; client of Wojciech Baranowski, in his chancellery when he was Bishop of Przemyśl, friend of Tomasz Zamoyski, 3 nephews Bishops, Piotr of Kraków, Jan of Kujawy, Andrzej of Łuck; 1612 guardian of Prince Jan Kazimierz while his father was in Moscow; frequent, dedicated activity at Sejms; pro Habsburg, notably in the Thirty Years' War
43. Gniewosz, M: Bishop of Włocławek 1642-54
44. Gostomski, Hieronim (d. 1609) 1576 Under Chamberlain of Rawa, 1588-92 Castellan of Nakło, 1592-1609 Palatine of Poznań; Catholic convert - to 1589 Lutheran but did not sign 1573, then Catholic Reformer as Palatine, Piotr Skarga dedicated his <i>Zawstydzienie arianów</i> to him; 1605 opposed Warsaw Confederation; father Anzelm, Palatine of Rawa, mediated Janusz Radziwiłł to peace with crown after Rokosz, sons Jan, Palatine of Kalisz & Zygmunt Ferdynand; regalist under Zygmunt III from election; funded entourage for him in Gdańsk to Kraków, 1590 Koło regalist & wrote with Jesuits to 1592 Jędrzejów assembly calling opposition to return to the crown, Rokosz active regalist, one of executors of royal will, courtier; political career under Zygmunt - frequent attendance at Sejms, 1592 as deputy while a senator, 1595, 1605 pro treasury reform
45. Gostomski, Jan (1576-1623) to 1620 Palatine of Brześć, 1620-3 Palatine of Kalisz; Catholic – though educated Lutheran Gymnasium, also attended Jesuit college, became Catholic Reform patron and funded Wałcz Jesuit College; father Hieronim above, wife 1 Zofia Firlejówna daughter of Palatine of Kraków, wife 2 Zofia

Tęczyńska daughter Castellan of Kraków; courtier, Rokosz regalist; Deputy for Opatów at 1605 Sejm, four times resident senator; envoy to Habsburgs to announce queen's death 1599
46. Gostomski, Stanisław: Palatine of Rawa in 1594-5; dissenter - involved in co-ordinating with Lithuania on 1595 Synod of Toruń; ally Krzysztof Radziwiłł
47. Gostyński, Andrzej: Castellan of Kamień 1642-53
48. Gostyński, Stanisław: Castellan of Krzywiń 1588-1614
49. Goślicki, Wawrzyniec (1530-1607) Bishop of Kamień 1586, Bishop of Chełm 1590, Bishop of Przemyśl 1591, Bishop of Poznań 1601-7, Royal Secretary; educated Academy of Kraków, Padua Bologna & Rome universities; defended Academy of Kraków against Jesuits 1598 Piotrków, tried twice & failed to become Deputy Chancellor, "as he was too tolerant"; 1589 on commission to sort out crown lands; pro Zamoyski; anti Habsburg Maximilian, favoured peace with the Turks & Moscow, constitutionalist; wrote <i>De optimo senatore</i> (1568): Senate as basis of good government. Tr. pub. & confiscated in London as undermining royal authority, English titles <i>The Counsellor exactly portraited in 2 books</i> (1598), <i>A Commonwealth of Good Counsaile</i> (?1607)
50. Górka, Andrzej (1534-93) 1571-83 Castellan of Międzyrzecz, 1578 Starosta of Kościań, 7 starostas; Lutheran – Frankfurt/Oder University; 1573 led dissenters at Sejm to support Warsaw Confederation; Szczecbrzeszyn founded Lutheran church & school, Poznań Lutherans met in his palace; father Andrzej Castellan of Poznań, mother Barbara Krozlewska, brothers Stanisław & Łukasz; Zborowski family ally, i.e. anti Zamoyski; 1567 1573 Sejms
51. Górka, Łukasz (1536-73) 1555 Palatine of Brześć, 1562-5 Palatine of Kalisz, 1565-73 Palatine of Poznań; Lutheran - major patron, e.g. Czech Brethren printing press in his palace, Lutheran synods there from 1563, did not convert so despite a fight, his body buried in Kórnik not in Poznań Cathedral, corresponded with Melancthon, joined Jan Łaski's efforts for church unity; brothers Andrzej & Stanisław, ally with Jakub Ostroróg; anti Habsburg 1573 interregnum
52. Górka, Stanisław (1532-92) 1576-82 Palatine of Poznań; Lutheran but close to Czech Brethren - links with Melancthon, Frankfurt/Oder University, dissenter protector e.g. 1591 defended Poznań Czech Brethren & Lutherans v. Andrzej Opaliński, General Starosta of Great Poland; also close to Catholics, Jesuits visited his palace at Kórnik, defended Sandomierz Consensus, wanted Lutheran & Czech Brethren joint general synods; 1591 pro dissenter assembly at Radom; rival of Archbishop Uchański, esp. against Andrzej Opaliński & Zborowski family, anti Zamoyski, close to Archbishop Karnkowski controlling Great Poland's politics for years; 1573 interregnum allied with Archbishop of Gniezno, first regalist, pro Piast candidate, then pro Henri Valois; greeted him at his Kórnik palace on arrival, later pro Batory & one of his closest advisors, republican under Zygmunt III; key organiser of Kolo assembly with Archbishop Karnkowski, reaction to 1590 Sejm; 1582 opposed electoral reform at Środa & Sejm, popular szlachta "tribune"; good relations with Prince Albrecht of Prussia, close correspondence, pro Habsburg from 1586, except when Maximilian left Poland
53. Górski, Jan: Starosta of Wschowa 1572-88; built a Lutheran church at Miłosławo
54. Grodziecki, Adam (d. 1646) 1627-32 Castellan of Nakło, 1632-46 Castellan of Międzyrzecz; Czech Brethren convert to Catholic; Andrzej's son; courtier; tax reform plans at 1639 Sejm, frequent deputy from Środa, also while a senator
55. Grodziecki, Andrzej: Czech Brethren senior, delegate to Toruń 1595; Adam's father
56. Grodziecki, Piotr: Castellan of Santok 1580-7; Czech Brethren
57. Grudziński, Andrzej (d. 1678) 1650-3 Castellan of Nakło, 1653-61 Palatine of Kalisz, 1661-77 Palatine of Poznań; 3 starostas, Wałcz, Rogaliń, Środa; possibly Calvinist like father; father Zygmunt, Palatine of Kalisz, mother Anna Opalińska, died childless with 3m. złoty fortune which went to Piotr Opaliński Palatine of Łęczyca, & the 4 Działyński brothers; Deluge republican at Ujście then 1656 regalist, Lubomierski Rokosz regalist; 1646 Sejm deputy, 1647 <i>marszałek</i> of Środa

sejmik, tribune, 1648 chosen as lieutenant v. Cossacks from Środa sejmik; fought in Cossack wars
58. Grudziński, Jan: 1598-1600 Castellan of Santok, 1600-23 Castellan of Nakło; Calvinist; Rokosz regalist
59. Grudziński, Janusz: Castellan of Krzywiń 1576-87
60. Grudziński, Stefan (d.1588) 1576-88 Castellan of Nakło, Starosta of Wałcz; Lutheran - funded a church in Niemczyń Wielki; father Stefan, Standard-Bearer of Kalisz, anti Górka alliance, anti Habsburg in 1586 interregnum; regalist under Zygmunt III; Moscow war in youth & continued military career, project to increase trade with England
61. Grudziński, Zygmunt (1572-1653) 1615 Castellan of Nakło, 1617-8 Castellan of Biechowo, 1618-21 Castellan of Międzyrzecz, 1621-8 Palatine of Inowrocław, 1628-52 Palatine of Kalisz; Reformed - converted to Catholic on deathbed, in his town of Swarzędz which he granted city status 1638 he supported a German Lutheran pastor, gave land for church, school & cemetery, & allowed worship in his palace, also gave favourable rents land & allowed houses & synagogue there for Jews; father Stefan, Castellan of Nakło, son Andrzej, Palatine of Kalisz, wife is daughter of Adam Przyjemski, also Anna Opalińska, corresponded with Krzysztof Radziwiłł on dissenter matters; so wealthy - bought 40 estates for 1.5m złoty - that the Sejm barred him from buying more land.
62. Grudziński, Zygmunt (d. 1618) 1601 Palatine of Rawa, 1613 Starosta of Inowrocław; Calvinist or Czech Brethren, converted to Catholicism by 1616; Rokosz republican
63. Grzymułtowski, Jan: Castellan of Bydgoszcz; Rokosz republican; frequent Sejm deputy while a senator
64. Guldenstern, Zygmunt: Starosta of Sztum; Lutheran patron & representative at Colloquium, also patron of Czech Brethren
65. Karnkowski, Jan: 1597-1616 Castellan of Łędek, Starosta of Łęczyca
66. Karnkowski, Stanisław (1520-1603) Royal Secretary, 1568 Bishop of Cujavia, 1581-1603 Archbishop of Gniezno; Padua & Wittenberg universities, active Catholic Reformer with Hosius, founded the first Polish clerical seminary in Włocławek 1569, focussing on the Protestant north of the Cujavia diocese, popular in Rome, held 4 diocesan synods 1583 1589 1593 1602, funded clerical seminary run by Jesuits, built Jesuit college & church (where he was buried), also hospital & brothers of mercy all in Kalisz, clerical seminary at Gniezno 1598; father Tadeusz, mother Elżbieta Olszewska, educated by uncle Jan, Bishop of kujawy, close to Hosius, pro Habsburg, thus Górka anti Zamoyski, notably in 1586 interregnum, 1589 sejm Hbg, educated relatives at own cost and supported them by his episcopal lands; Royal Secretary to Zygmunt August, 1573 pro Henri Valois, pro Habsburg at Koło assembly, regalist against dissenter assembly at Radom 1591, but v. anti Zamoyski, withdrew to neutral distance from politics, constitutionalist; wrote <i>De primatu senatorio regni poloniae</i> (1593) & <i>Exorbitancje i naprawa koła poselskiego</i> (1596) on increasing the role of deputies
67. Kielczewski, Wacław: 1591-1613 Starosta of Wschowa, 1608-16 Castellan of Biechowo, Castellan of Łędek 1617-20, 1620 Castellan of Łęczyca; courtier
68. Kołaczkowski, Mikołaj: 1631-5 Castellan of Krzywiń
69. Konarski, Jan: 1551-69 Under Chamberlain of Poznań, 1569 Castellan of Międzyrzecz, 1572-99 Castellan of Kalisz
70. Konięcpolski, Aleksander (d.1609?) 1584 Starosta of Wieluń, 1597 Castellan of Sieradz, 1606 Palatine of Sieradz; Catholic - supported Jesuits but supported toleration in Rokosz; supporter of Jan Zamoyski; Rokosz constitutionalist - tried to compromise at 1607 Środa sejmik pre Sejm; soldier in Moscow campaign
71. Konięcpolski, M: <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Sieradz; Rokosz republican
72. Kościelecki, Jan (1544-1600) 1573-84 Castellan of Biechowo, 1584-1600 Castellan of Międzyrzecz; Lutheran - Frankfurt/Oder, Wittenberg Leipzig, Bologna

universities; father Janusz, General Starosta, mother Gertruda Danaborska, brother Stanisław below, uncle Andrzej, Palatine of Poznań, opposed pro Habsburg Górka faction 1586+ but at Koło 1590, uncle Łukasz Bishop of Poznań; pro Henri Valois, republican under Zygmunt III, deputy to crown from 1590 Koło assembly, 1569 1589 Sejm deputy ie. while senator; sejmik supported him in long land dispute with the Abbot of Trzemeszeń, Mielński; anti Habsburg, defended Great Poland's border against Maximilian's approach 1587
73. Kościelecki, Krzysztof: 1583-7 Starosta of Nakło, 1584 Castellan of Inowrocław
74. Kościelecki, Łukasz (1539-1597) 1563 Castellan of Bydgoszcz, 1575 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1577-1597 Bishop of Poznań; Frankfurt/Oder university, opposed Warsaw Confederation & active in reconversion of dissenters esp. elite, with Jesuits, closed Nering's dissenter press for publishing Calvinist Niemojewski's <i>Diatryba</i> , but some toleration - gave episcopal lands also to dissenters, failed to introduce Catholic reforms such as extending the number of diaconates or reforming the Lubrański Academy; father Palatine of Łęczyca, d. young, so to care of older brothers Jan & Andrzej, successful candidate, defeating Hieronim Radziejowski (nuncio supported) & Staś Czarnkowski to the bishopric, patron Crown Marshal of the Court, Andrzej Opaliński (his wife's uncle) who directed his politics until he came under the influence of Archbishop Karnkowski; pro Habsburg Maximilian with Andrzej Opaliński in 1587 interregnum, Sejm deputy for Inowrocław 1569 ie. while a senator, supported Karnkowski & thus the Koło assembly 1590, but opposed the Radom assembly 1591
75. Kościelecki, Stanisław (d. 1583) 1564-83 Starosta of Nakło, Starosta of Drahim; Lutheran - Frankfurt/Oder, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Bologna universities, patron to Catholics - Bydgoszcz Bernadines, wife funded fraternity of St. Anna there; father Janusz, General Starosta, mother Gertruda Danaborska, brother Jan above
76. Koźmiński, Piotr: Royal Secretary 1630, 1634 Cup-bearer of Kalisz, 1636 deputy <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Kalisz; Czech Brethren deputy to Colloquium; m. 1 Barbara Bronikowska, m. 2 Anna Latałska; parliamentarian republican, frequent deputy for Środa, at least 8 times from 1628-40
77. Kretkowski, Łukasz (d. 1603) 1589-1603 Castellan of Brześć; dissenter; pro Karnkowski anti Zamoyski at Koło 1590
78. Krotoski, Andrzej (d. 1632) 1620-1 Castellan of Kalisz; Czech Brethren senior - attended Toruń Synod 1595
79. Krotoski, Jan (d. 1577) 1553-63 Castellan of Inowrocław, 1563-77 Palatine of Inowrocław; Czech Brethren senior; son Andrzej, m. 1 Anna Potulicka 2 Anna Latałska 3 Urszula Ostroróżanka
80. Kryszkowski, Jerzy: Under Treasurer of Łęczyca; tolerant Catholic; Rokosz republican
81. Krzysztoporski, Jan (d. 1588) Castellan of Przemęt in 1572, 1567 Castellan of Wieluń, 1581 Castellan of Sieradz; Calvinist - signed Toruń 1595
82. Latałski, Jerzy (d. 1602) dissenter - present as secular senior at Toruń 1595; father Palatine of Poznań, sons Jerzy, Stanisław, Mikołaj
83. Latałski, Mikołaj (d. 1633) 1632 Castellan of Nakło, Czech Brethren senior from 1609; signed dissenter protest 1609, called for a minister for Marszewo at synod 1615; client of Jan Korzbok Zawadzki, m. Katarzyna Przyjemaska; Rokosz republican - deputy to crown, Sejm deputy for Środa 1598
84. Latałski, Rafał (d. after 1628) Calvinist/Czech Brethren - signed dissenter protest 1609; owner village of Łągiwnik from 1609; grandfather Jerzy
85. Latałski, S (d. 1619) Czech Brethren donor; signed dissenter protest 1609; Rokosz republican
86. Leszczyński, Andrzej (1559-1606) 1591-06 Palatine of Brześć, 1601 Starosta of Nakło, Calvinist, Czech Brethren patron, 'ecumenical' dissenter leader, Heidelberg, Geneva universities under Beza who gave him a personally dedicated copy of the New Testament 1575, 1592 sent letter of support to Radom assembly, 1594-5 in Poznań supported Lutherans to get Górka palace back from Czarnkowski,

<p>thereafter followed common politics with Lutheran Orzelski; ties with Little Poland's Calvinists, got Glicznar to meet Turnkowski, leading to Toruń Synod 1595, tried with Sędziwój Ostroróg to overcome German Lutheran opposition 1595-6 in Poznań – with the aid of Glicznar, got their approval of anti Paul Gertius decree from Toruń; active at Wilno Synod 1599; his Baranów estate was an important Reformation centre; he funded many students to attend eg. Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Basel - incl Marcin Gertrych & Jan Turnkowski; role polonising Czech Brethren at Leszno where he funded a school & press; father Rafał, Castellan of Śrem, mother Barbara Wolska, brother Wacław, Royal Chancellor, client Świętosław Orzelski from 1594, ally of Zamoyski; joined with Krzysztof Radziwiłł & Krzysztof Ostrogski at Wilno Synod of 1599 whereafter he headed dissenter political coalition, wife 1 Anna Firlejówna, daughter of Andrzej, Castellan of Lublin, son Rafał, dissenter leader, 3 wife Zofia Opalińska, three further sons Jan Archbishop of Gniezno, Przecław, and Wacław, General Starosta; regalist 1592 Sejm & when Rokosz plans to dethrone Zygmunt III, republican after Toruń 1595 & at 1605 Sejm; Sejm deputy for Sandomierz, 1590, 1591, 1595 Sejm called for mild treatment of Gdańsk tumult of 1593; Moscow wars role under Batory, pro Maximilian Habsburg 1586 acting for him, Kraków assembly etc. after Zygmunt III elected; defended Elector - pro Brandenburg at 1604 Sejm</p>	<p>87. Leszczyński, Andrzej (1608-1658) 1623 Canon of Kraków, 1646 Bishop of Chełm, 1653-8 Archbishop of Gniezno; Ingolstadt & Siena universities; father Wacław, mother Anna Rozrażewska, brother Wacław, Palatine of Łęczyca, conflict with Jerzy Ossoliński, opposing the Turkish wars; regalist under Jan Kazimierz, did queen's funeral speech 1644, 1652 Sejm regalist, briefly republican in Deluge, against Turkish war</p>
<p>88. Leszczyński, Bogusław (1612-59) 1642-59 General Starosta of Great Poland, 1650-8 Royal Under Treasurer, 1658-9 Royal Under Chancellor; Czech Brethren convert to tolerant Catholic 1642, educated by Comenius, 1636 Padua University 1642, continued to support Czech Brethren & Lutherans at Leszno, prevented episcopal attempts to restore Czech Brethren church there to Catholicism, 1650s founded monastery & 1652 let Czech Brethren build a church; father Rafał, beat his rival Krzysztof Opaliński to the post of General Starosta, Jan Schlichting also his client, made him responsible in 1655 for defence of Poznań & Kalisz palatinates, 1 wife Anna Denhoffówna, daughter of Kaspar, Palatine of Sieradz, d. 1658, 2 wife Joanna Katarzyna Radziwiłłówna (1637-1665) daughter of Aleksander, Palatine of Połock; 1640s regalist at Sejm until 1646 republican opposition, regalist under Jan Kazimierz from election & in Deluge where did lots of negotiating with Swedes; frequent Sejm 1640s, 1639 <i>marszałek sejmik Środa</i> & Sejm 1641, 1649-50</p>	<p>89. Leszczyński, Jan (1603-78) 1644 Castellan of Śrem, 1644-53 Castellan of Gniezno, 1656-61 Palatine of Poznań, 1659-70 General Starosta of Great Poland, 1661 Deputy Royal Chancellor, 1666 Royal Chancellor, 1678 Palatine of Kraków; Catholic - 1627 Padua university, signed anti Socinian motion in interregnum 1648, deputy leader at Colloquium; father Andrzej, Palatine of Brześć, mother Zofia Opalińska, sister of Rafał, Palatine of Belz, & Primate Wacław; republican under Władysław IV, regalist but mediated with Sweden & Cossacks in Deluge, constitutionalist mediator in Lubomierski Rokosz; frequent Sejm deputy 1626-39 & annually 1640-3, <i>marszałek</i> for Środa sejmik 1641</p>
<p>90. Leszczyński, Przecław (1605-1670) 1642-44 Castellan of Nakło, 1644-58 Castellan of Śrem, 1658 Palatine of Dorpat, 1666-9 Starosta of Wschowa; tolerant Catholic; mother Zofia Opalińska, brothers Jan & Wacław</p>	<p>91. Leszczyński, Rafał (1526-92) 1580-92 Castellan of Śrem; presented Czech Brethren confession of faith to crown, increased dissenter education opportunities when he inherited Leszno 1565; father Jan, Castellan of Brześć, mother Maria de Marceheyes, sons Andrzej Palatine of Brześć, Jan & Wacław, General Starosta</p>
<p>92. Leszczyński, Rafał (1579-1636) 1612 Castellan of Wiślica, 1614-6 Starosta of Wschowa, 1618 Castellan of Kalisz, 1619-36 Palatine of Belz; Czech Brethren, first school is Brethren at Kozminek, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Basel theology studies,</p>	

<p>Geneva with beza, key dissenter patron in Great Poland & Little Poland, defended the Warsaw Confederation at the 1611 Sejm, 1612 gained land round Lublin, able to help defend dissenters from problems there, notably with Jesuits, his own house was used for worship when their church was destroyed, 1627 Tribunal ruling against dissenters (his soldiers) for starting Lublin tumult, he took the case to the Sejm & got the ruling annulled, also aided the Lublin church after 1633 tumult, at Bełżyce funded Calvinist Gymnasium & supported the church, defended the city from Bishop of Kraków attempts to take over as the guardian of its minor owners (Orzechowscy) in 1626, supported a church & school in Baranów, also founded Włodawa, both of these hosted dissenter general synods, funded Leszno Gymnasium with 12 scholarships; father Andrzej, Palatine of Brześć, mother Anna Firlejówna, brothers Jan, Przemysław & Wacław, sons of Zofia Opalińska; client Jan Jerzy Schlichting, ally Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Jerzy Zbaraski; Rokosz not active; to Sejms 1605, 1611 as deputy for Sandomierz, 1612 to Senate, active on financial commissions on coinage 1623 1631 & prices of goods 1623 1627; travel to England, met Elizabeth I, Scotland & Netherlands, anti Habsburg esp. during Thirty Years War, aided Silesian Protestant princes appeals to Zygmunt III against Habsburgs 1635, pro Swedish 1630s - correspond with Chancellor Oxenstiern; persuade ZIII against war with Sweden 1635, favoured candidacy of Gustav Adolf 1632</p>
<p>93. Leszczyński, Rafał (1650-1703) 1671 Starosta of Wschowa, 1685 Palatine of Kalisz, 1687 Palatine of Poznań, 1692 General Starosta of Great Poland & Palatine of Łęczyca, Crown Marshal of the Court; tolerant Catholic – owned Śmigiel, affirmed freedom of confession in Leszno 1671, took Catholic tithes from priest of Leszno; father Bogusław, grandfather Rafał, mother Anna Denhoffówna, wife Anna Jabłonowska, son Stanisław below; early republican, ties with Elector of Brandenburg, later regalist from 1692; anti France pro Habsburg, ambassador to Istanbul</p>
<p>94. Leszczyński, Stanisław (1677-1766) 1699 Palatine of Poznań, 1704 chosen, 1705 crowned, 1712 abdicated, 1733 return; Catholic but also educated at Czech Brethren school Leszno, then with the Jesuits; father Rafał, mother Anna, wife Katarzyna Opalińska</p>
<p>95. Leszczyński, Wacław (1576-1628) 1616 Castellan of Kalisz, 1618-20 Palatine of Kalisz, 1625 Royal Chancellor, 1628 General Starosta of Great Poland for 1 month; tolerant Catholic by 1600 - Reformed education & attended Synod of Wilno 1599 for Czech Brethren, Calvinist wife Anna Rozrażewska (1586-1619) daughter of Jan Castellan of Poznań, Heidelberg, Strasbourg & Basel, then Padua university 1598 where converted to Catholicism, Gołuchów 1601 gave parish back to Catholics, pro Academy of Kraków in dispute with Jesuits; father Rafał, Castellan of Śrem, brother Andrzej, Palatine of Brześć, son Andrzej, primate; courtier, 1620 resident senator, Rokosz regalist; to Środa sejmik 1606, 1626 favoured election <i>vivente rege</i>, 1603, 1605 Sejm deputy; 1627 accompanied king to Prussian campaign against Sweden</p>
<p>96. Leszczyński, Wacław (1605-66) Crown Tribunal deputy, 1643 Royal Referendary, 1645 Bishop of Warmia, 1658-66 Archbishop of Gniezno; Poznań Jesuit College Perugia, Padua, Paris universities; father Andrzej Palatine of Brześć, mother Zofia Opalińska, step-brother Rafał, Palatine of Brześć; regalist, favoured election <i>vivente rege</i> at 1661 Sejm, mediatory role in Lubomierski Rokosz, 1648 interregnum called & organised Prussian sejmik & opposed Warsaw Confederation; 1645 to France to collect new Queen Louise Marie Gonzaga, good relations with Elector of Brandenburg also during Deluge, pro French candidacy 1660s (Prince d'Enghien)</p>
<p>96. Leszczyński, Władysław (d.1679), 1657 Palatine of Łęczyca, educated Poznań Jesuit College; 3 wives, first Katarzyna Gajowska, 3 sons and four daughters; 1634 courtier, voted for Jan Kazimierz, Lubomirski Rokosz republican; military active, fought Cossacks; to Sejm for Środa 1642, 1648, 1650, 1652 (x2), 1655</p>
<p>97. Lipski, Andrzej (1572-1631) in 1616 Custodian of Gniezno, Bishop of Łuck, 1623 Bishop of Włocławek, 1630 Bishop of Kraków</p>
<p>98. Lipski, Jan (1589-1641) Royal Secretary, 1636 Bishop of Chełm, 1638-41</p>

<p>Archbishop of Gniezno; educated Kalisz Jesuit College, Rome University, Catholic reformer who restored saint cults as Bishop of Chełm, founded clerical seminary at Rawa; Jerzy Ossoliński ally; regalist under Zygmunt III & key policy advisor under Władysław IV, close to Habsburg Queen Cecilia Renata; 1639 1640 Środa sejmiki as Archbishop; envoy with Jerzy Ossoliński to the Pope 1633, to Moscow 1635, opposed royal policy towards Electors of Brandenburg</p>
<p>99. Lutomirski, Mikołaj; possibly Czech Brethren; wife Anna Latańska; Rokosz republican</p>
<p>100. Lwowski, Marcin (d. 1590) in 1586 Castellan of Kamień; Lutheran</p>
<p>101. Łacki, Jan Korzbok (d.1662) 1639-62 Starosta of Nakło</p>
<p>102. Łaski, Olbracht (1536-1605) Palatine of Sieradz in 1572; Catholic - converted from Calvinism in 1569, opposed Warsaw Confederation 1573; tried & failed to get Habsburg patronage 1587, so turned to Zamoyski, later pro Karnkowski, sons Jan Olbracht, Jan Hieronim; family land also in Hungary, was at court of Carol V & Ferdinand there, came to Poland as secretary for Catherine Habsburg 1550s; 1571 diplomacy to the Habsburgs for Zygmunt August & Henri Valois till the emperor died in 1576, favoured the league against the Turks, 1583 to England, 2 audiences with Elizabeth I, links with John Dee whom he took back with him to Batory to make gold</p>
<p>103. Łaszcz Piotr, 1633-52 Castellan of Łędek; Rokosz active republican leader; to Sejm for Środa 1600 1604 1619</p>
<p>104. Łowicki, Jan: 1618 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Brześć, 1620-3 Under Chamberlain of Brześć, to 1630 Starosta of Brześć, 1628-33 Castellan of Łędek, 1624 Sejm <i>marszałek</i>, 1633 Castellan of Inowrocław; Catholic</p>
<p>105. Łubieński, Stanisław (1573-1640) <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz, 1591 Royal Secretary, 1624 Bishop of Łuck, 1627-40 Bishop of Płock; educated at Sieradz, Kalisz Jesuit Colleges, Graz Rome Perugia universities; brother of Maciej below; patron uncle Maciej Pstroński, Bishop of Przemyśl; Rokosz regalist & favoured election <i>vivente rege</i>; 1626 1632 1633 1634 1635 1637 1638 Sejms as a senator, pro war with Sweden; wrote <i>Res gesta episc. ploc.</i> (1642)</p>
<p>106. Łubieński, Maciej (1572-1652) 1605-15 Royal Secretary, 1597 Canon of Poznań, 1600 Canon of Gniezno, 1612 Canon of Kraków, 1621 Bishop of Chełm, 1627-31 Bishop of Poznań, 1631 Bishop of Włocławek, 1641-52 Archbishop of Gniezno; educated at Jesuit College Kalisz & Poznań, Academy of Kraków, university & canon law at Rome, did visitations in Poznań 1628-30, continued rebuilding the cathedral, Catholic reform in Włocławek e.g. supported clerical seminary, synods 1634 1641, visitations etc., restored Gniezno Cathedral, founded dozens of churches, Franciscan monastery in Łowicz; father Świętosław, mother Barbara Zapolska, brother Marcin, rector of Kalisz Jesuit College, worked for Royal Deputy Chancellor Jan Tarnowski, patron uncle Maciej Pstroński, Bishop of Przemyśl, for whom he worked, rising to canon of Poznań; courtier 1610s on, role in Sejms, esp. under WIV where he opposed Orthodox rights</p>
<p>107. Maciejowski, Bernard (1548-1608) 1586 tribunal deputy, 1587 Bishop of Łuck, 1600 Bishop of Kraków, 1606-8 Archbishop of Gniezno, 1603 Cardinal for his services to the Council of Trent; key organiser of Brześć Union with Orthodox 1592-5, Jesuits supported his candidacy to Kraków Bishopric, Catholic reformer – published 1st Polish Index 1603, visitations; father Bernard, Castellan of Lublin, d. when he was 3, mother Elżbieta Kamienicka, educated by uncle Stanisław, continuous contact with Hosius who patron recommended him to queen, Zamoyski opposed his nomination to Bishopric of Łuck but later supported him at 1590 Sejm; 1592 Sejm & Rokosz regalist, especially opposed dissenter element & called council of bishops on it, generally constitutionalist, swung between regalism & supporting the szlachta; educated at Habsburg courts of Maximilian & Ferdinand I, fought in Moscow wars under Batory, frequent travels to Rome, personally supported Dmitr for Moscow who he married in Kraków 1605</p>
<p>108. Maniecki, Hieronim: <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Poznań, Royal Secretary; Catholic;</p>

regalist; frequent Sejm deputy	
109.	Maniecki, Maciej: 1612 Chamberlain of Poznań, 1613-25 deputy <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Kalisz, 1625-37 Under Chamberlain of Poznań, 1629-I Sejm <i>marszałek</i> ; Catholic; regalist; frequent Sejm deputy
110.	Męciński, Andrzej: in 1586 Castellan of Wieluń; Calvinist; Rokosz republican
111.	Mielżyński, Łukasz (1560-1628) 1590 Royal Secretary, 1600-15 Under Chamberlain of Kalisz, 1616-28 Castellan of Gniezno; Catholic - Rokosz defended Jesuits & their schools, 1618 on commission after tumult in Poznań; father Wojciech, mother Jadwiga Iwieńska, brother Mikołaj; Rokosz regalist, courtier; frequent deputy to Sejms of 1592 1593 1598 1600 1603 1605 1609 1611 1613 1615 1616 1618, <i>marszałek</i> of Środa sejmik 1597, 1602
112.	Mielżyński, Krzysztof (d. 1658) Sword-Bearer of Poznań 1658; Catholic; client of Krzysztof and estate manager for Łukasz Opaliński, son Adam Esquire Carver of Kalisz; courtier
113.	Mielżyński, Mikołaj (d.1640) 1606-18 Esquire Carver of Kalisz, 1616-28 Castellan of Biechowo, 1628-37 Castellan of Gniezno; Catholic - Rokosz defended Jesuits & their schools; 1618 on commission after tumult in Poznań; father Wojciech, mother Jadwiga Iwieńska, brother Łukasz, daughter Anna m. Przecław Leszczyński; Rokosz regalist, frequent deputy to Sejms of 1606 1607 continued as deputy while senator in 1620 1621 1624 1625, <i>marszałek</i> of Środa sejmik 1616, sejmik 1618 1620, frequent tax collector
114.	Mielecki, Adam: Czech Brethren patron, defended Chobienice church against Crown Tribunal judgement to return it to Catholicism
115.	Mielecki, Samuel: Czech Brethren patron 1630s
116.	Mieliński, Mikołaj: Castellan of Kamień 1605-21; Rokosz regalist
117.	Niemojewski, Jan: <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Inowrocław; dissenter - attended the Synod of Toruń 1595, as did 3 other Niemojewskis
118.	Nowodworski, Adam (1572-1634) 1601 Canon of Gniezno, 1610 Royal Secretary, 1620 Bishop of Kamień, 1627 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1631-4 Bishop of Poznań; educated at Kraków & Bologna universities, 1608 provisor of clerical seminary at Gniezno, good relations with Jesuits, gave them villages & a church at Jarosławo, conflict with cathedral chapter at Przemyśl, accused him of badly managing lands & exploiting peasantry, Catholic reformer, tried to increase clerical punishment there; at Archbishop Karnkowski's court after study; regalist, advised prince Władysław from 1618; 1607 to Sejm for Gniezno chapter, as senator attended & vota at Sejms 1616 1623 1626 1627 1632 1633, pro tax reform & Swedish war 1626
119.	Opalińska, Zofia (m.1607 d.1639) Catholic - founded Bernadine monastery at Sieraków; wife of Piotr Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, Kostki family, sold family estate of Bnin to Piotr Opaliński, later Palatine of Kalisz, for 200 000 zł. with other land, mother of brothers Krzysztof and Łukasz, daughter Zofia m. Hetman of Polish Kingdom, daughter Anna m. Stanisław Przyjemski, Palatine of Poznań
120.	Opaliński, Andrzej (1540-93) 1560-9 Castellan of Przemęt, 1569-72 Castellan of Śrem, 1572 Crown Marshal of the Court, 1574 Grand Marshal of the Court, 1578-93 General Starosta of Great Poland; tolerant Catholic - Lutheran education eg. Leipzig, but converted 1559, allowed Jewish synagogue at Śrem, family alliances with dissenters eg. daughter married Jan Leszczyński, Czech Brethren son of Rafał, 1590 Sejm supported plans for royal marriage to a northern Protestant, supported candidacy of Jan Marszewski to deputy <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Kalisz 1578, also supported Poznań Jesuit college appealing to Archbishop for money; opposed Górka & Primate Karnkowski, Czarnkowski brothers, Jan Zamoyski - Stanisław Czarnkowski called him the chancellor's 3rd eye; pro Habsburg after 1574, late 1560s & 1570s Sejm deputy, 1573 against reform, wanted to proceed straight to election
121.	Opaliński, Andrzej (1576-1623) Royal Secretary, Castellan of Przemęt, coauditor 1606 then Bishop of Poznań 1607-23; Jesuit education, university at Padua & Rome where was secretary to Pope Clement VIII, active Catholic reformer,

<p>eg. Poznań asked for the crown to ban dissenters from citizen rights 1609, forbade restoration of dissenter churches 1614 though this was ignored, banned the rebuilding of the dissenter church at Międzyrzecz, funded renovation of Poznań Cathedral after 1623 fire, supported Jesuit college desires to become an Academy, later restored the Lubrański Academy and encouraged Academy of Kraków personnel to work there from 1613+, founded 5 colleges, returned Wałcz Lutheran church to Catholicism 1610; father Andrzej, mother Katarzyna Kościelska, brothers Piotr, Royal Cup-Bearer, Łukasz, Palatine of Rawa, whom he supported in his legal case v. Rokosz leader Stanisław Stadnicki - big debt as result, legal dispute together with Rozrażewski heirs v. cathedral chapter over lands; Rokosz regalist; resident senator in 1608-9 & 1623, 1616 & 1618 sejmiki defended clerical privileges, attended Sejm 1613 1619 1621 1623; 1605 royal envoy to Pope with request to marry Constanze Habsburg</p>
<p>122. Opaliński, Andrzej: 1624 Under Chamberlain of Poznań</p>
<p>123. Opaliński, Jan (1546-98) 1578-98 Castellan of Rogoźno</p>
<p>124. Opaliński, Jan (1581-1637) 1621-4 Castellan of Kalisz, 1624-8 Palatine of Kalisz, 1628-37 Palatine of Poznań & Starosta of Inowrocław; Catholic, founded Reform monastery at Łabyszyń & church in Grodzisk, exiled dissenters from lands; brother Piotr Opaliński, Palatine of Poznań, wife Urszula Potulicka, daughter of Piotr, Palatine of Kalisz, who then m. Andrzej Grudziński Palatine of Kalisz; Rokosz regalist</p>
<p>125. Opaliński, Jan Piotr (1601-65) 1633 tribunal deputy, 1638 Royal Lord High Steward, 1648 Esquire Carver, 1651 Royal Cup-bearer, 1653 Palatine of Podlasie, 1661-5 Palatine of Kalisz; Catholic – Padua university; wife Katarzyna Leszczyńska, sons Jan Palatine of Brześć, Kazimierz Bishop of Chełm, Piotr Palatine of Łęczyca, rival Bogusław Leszczyński; Deluge regalist, Sejm deputy 1631, 1633, 1641 & to sejmiki thereafter</p>
<p>126. Opaliński, Jan (1629-1684) Palatine of Brześć, General Starosta of Great Poland; tolerant Catholic - founded monastery at Rawicz & church at Osieczno where he also preserved the Lutheran church, invited dissenter settlers on his war-damaged lands, 1670 for Rawicz agreed to mixed marriages Lutheran & Catholic, and Lutheran christenings if both parents agree; father Piotr, Palatine of Kalisz, mother Katarzyna Leszczyńska, wife Anna Przyjemaska, widow of Castellan of Gniezno; Lubomierski Rokosz regalist; 1652 Środa sejmik <i>marszałek</i>; soldier, eg. at Chocim</p>
<p>127. Opaliński, Krzysztof (1609-55) 1637-55 Palatine of Poznań, 1637 tribunal deputy & Starosta of Śrem; tolerant Catholic - educated Lubrański Academy, Louvain, Padua, Strasbourg universities; founded a school at Sieraków on Czech Brethren Comenius model for education regardless of religion or social status, Socinians & Czech Brethren given asylum on his lands; father Piotr, Palatine of Poznań, mother Zofia, brother Łukasz, wife Teresa Czarnkowska, contemporary of Krzysztof Zbaraski & Janusz Konstanty Ostrogski at Louvain, ally of Stanisław Lubomirski, Palatine of Kraków; regalist till 'tribune' leader of Great Poland opposition republican 1650s; 1652 letter to crown instead of votum at Sejm, criticising court, opposed planned Order of the Immaculate Conception; Sejm deputy 1632 x3, 1635, 1637, 1647, sejmiki 1639-45 sejmiki; 1645 to France to collect new Queen Louise Marie Gonzaga, Deluge republican, at Ujście, favoured compromise with Cossacks; wrote <i>Satryry</i> (Leszno 1650), letters to brother Łukasz 1641-53 published posthumously</p>
<p>128. Opaliński, Łukasz (1581-1654) 1614-20 Castellan of Poznań, 1620 Crown Marshal of the Court, 1630-50 Grand Marshal of the Court, 1650 Palatine of Rawa; Catholic - Padua university; patron of monasteries; father Andrzej, mother Katarzyna, brothers Piotr & Andrzej; Rokosz regalist, close to WIV (organised marriage celebrations for both wives), though 1640s republican & opposition to Turkish war, Deluge regalist, 1625 1626 1628 1631 Sejms as senator, pro Swedish war at 1625 Sejm</p>
<p>129. Opaliński, Łukasz (1612-62) 1640 Under Chamberlain of Poznań but did not take oath still 1643, 1650-2 Crown Marshal of the Court; tolerant Catholic, educated at Lubrański Academy, Louvain, Padua, Strasbourg universities; father</p>

<p>Piotr, Palatine of Poznań, mother Zofia Kostkova, brother Krzysztof, brother-in-law Stanisław Przyjemski; Deluge regalist, 1650s pro <i>vivente rege</i>; frequent attendance at Sejm from 1632, 1634, 1635-I, 1637-II, <i>marszałek</i> 1638, constitutionalist – called for reform on vacancies, in reform group at e.g. Sejm 1639, in reform group at e.g. Sejm 1639, 1640, 1641 1648 1649-II; on several commissions eg. on customs 1638; continued interest in Sejm reform into 1650s; served in Cossack wars 1649; political writings, <i>Rozmowa Plebana</i> (1641), <i>Obrona Polski</i> (1648) satire <i>Coś nowego</i> (1652), history of Swedish war; 1661 initiator of first Polish newspaper, <i>Mercariusz polski</i></p>
<p>130. Opaliński, Piotr (1566-1600) 1588 Royal Carver, 1588-1600 Starosta of Nakło; Catholic – Dillingen university 1579-82, reinstalled a Catholic priest at Bukowiec; mother Katarzyna Kościelska, father Andrzej, Grand Marshal of the Court, brother Andrzej, Bishop of Poznań, brother Łukasz, Palatine of Rawa, mother Katarzyna Kościelska, father Andrzej, Grand Marshal of the Court; Sejm deputy 1592, 1593 & 1596 sejmiki Środa</p>
<p>131. Opaliński, Piotr (1587-1624) 1620-2 Castellan of Poznań, 1622-4 Palatine of Poznań; Catholic – Ingolstadt university, removed dissenters from his land at Sieraków, founded Bernadine monastery there; father Jan, Castellan of Rogaliń, mother Barbara Ostroróg, wife Zofia above; brother Jan, Palatine of Poznań; Rokosz republican, tribune; Sejm deputy 1606, 1613, 1616, opposed tax proposals at 1606 Sejm, call for army reform eg. allowing military confederations; military career 1610s to 1620s, to Moscow, Smoleńsk & Chocim</p>
<p>132. Orzelski, Jan (1551-1612) 1600-7 Castellan of Rogoźno, Starosta of Radziejów & Kościań; Catholic – Leipzig university and Italy travels, founded a church at Runów, one daughter Jadwiga, a Benedictine nun in Chełm; father Mikołaj, mother Barbara Grocholska brothers Maciej & Świętosław, ties to Mikołaj Radziwiłł, wife Elżbieta, daughter of Kasper Zebrzydowski Palatine of Kraków, which brought him land & villages there, wife was starosta after him until selling the office in 1617 to his son-in-law; daughter Isabela m. Mikołaj Działyński, Starosta of Kościań; regalist under Zygmunt III from election, opposed Koło assembly, Rokosz constitutionalist, mediated at 1606 Sejm; Sejm deputy for Środa from 1587, signed Kalisz protest, 1589 1600 1603 Sejms, 1590s frequent tax collector; soldier at Gdańsk 1577, Livonia 1579, 1580s Moscow, diplomacy to Pomeranian princes 1594 with Piotr Opaliński & Andrzej Czarnkowski</p>
<p>133. Orzelski, Łukasz (d. 1659) 1636 Cup-bearer of Kalisz, 1659 <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz; Lutheran?; father Mikołaj, mother Anna Suliszawska; republican; frequent deputy at 23 Sejms for Kalisz from 1623; <i>marszałek</i> sejmik 1636, 1649; to Moscow 1617 with prince Władysław</p>
<p>134. Orzelski, Mikołaj: Lutheran; Rokosz republican</p>
<p>135. Orzelski, Świętosław (1549-98) 1576 <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz, 1580-89 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> Kalisz, 1589-98 Starosta of Radziejów; Lutheran senior – Frankfurt/Oder university aged 9 with brothers, then Leipzig and Kraków; aim for Protestant unity; active politically pro dissenter and toleration at Środa sejmik 1590, 1592 Sejm 1595; a leader at Toruń 1595; father Mikołaj, mother Barbara Grocholska, brothers Maciej & Jan; client across family and religion for the Czarnkowski, Leszczyński, Ostroróg & Górka families; frequent deputy at Sejms and active in sejmiki 1589+, 1582 <i>marszałek</i>, constitutionalist? - 1592 mediated between crown & szlachta, change 1590s wanted to increase senate role over deputies; pro Habsburg Maximilian 1587 and 1589; wrote on Polish law and history – <i>Bezkrólewia ksiąg osmioro</i> written 1574-6</p>
<p>136. Ossowski, Andrzej (d. 1666) 1649-66 Starosta of Wschowa; Lutheran patron</p>
<p>137. Ossowski, Jan (d. 1616) 1601-16 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Wschowa; Czech Brethren - senior at Wschowa, signed dissenter protest 1609, also directed Poznań szlachta synod as a senior in 1607 & 1610; Rokosz republican</p>
<p>138. Ossowski, Stanisław: Lutheran senior at Wschowa</p>
<p>139. Ossowski, Wacław: 1633-42 Castellan of Nakło</p>
<p>140. Ostroróg, Jan (1565-1622) 1580 Cup-bearer of Poznań, 1588 Royal Cup-</p>

<p>bearer, 1600-9 Castellan of Poznań, 1610-21 Palatine of Poznań, Crown Tribunal <i>marszałek</i> 1596, 1600; tolerant Catholic - 1587 converted by Jesuit Stanisław Warszewicki, Lutheran education from parents, Geneva university, 1596 calmed Lublin tumult v. Socinians, supported Jesuits to open Poznań college, reclaimed churches for Catholicism in 1589 in his 2 towns Grodzisk and Międzychód; father Stanisław, Castellan of Międzyrzecz, brother Mikołaj Castellan of Bełz, close ally of Jan Zamoyski, 2 wife Zofia, daughter of Jan Ostrorog, Palatine of Wieluń, sister Katarzyna m. Krzysztof Radziwiłł; 1589 Sejm pro <i>liberum veto</i>, Rokosz constitutionalist, mediating role and wanted Rokosz articles accepted which protect the laws at 1607 Sejm, voted for Zygmunt III, 1615 brokered a settlement on szlachta taxation ending army confederation & 1610s on war pay commissions at Sejm; consistently anti Habsburg; 1590 tried to unite pro Zamoyski opinion at Środa, wanted Habsburg excluded from candidacy to Polish throne; 1620 <i>List do narodu</i> supporting Turkish war</p>	
141.	Ostroróg, Marcin (d.1590) 1581-90 Castellan of Kamień; Catholic; father Wojciech, mother Zofia Zborowska; Sejms 1574, 1575, 1587
142.	Ostroróg, Mikołaj (1593-1651) 1633 Royal Lord High Steward, 1634 Esquire Carver, 1636 Royal Carver, 1638 Royal Cup-bearer; Catholic – educated at Zamoyski Academy, Cologne & Padua universities, Władysław IV offered him Deputy Chancellor if he became a priest, which he was not prepared to do for secular reasons; 1635 Sejm appointed by crown as mediator between Uniates and Orthodox; father Jan, Palatine of Poznań, mother Katarzyna Melecka; sister Katarzyna m. Krzysztof Radziwiłł, also close to Jerzy Ossoliński, educated with Tomasz in the Zamoyski Academy and they remained close; supported Łukasz Opaliński; republican in the later 1630s to 1640s; frequent Sejm attendance, especially from Rus Palatine, 1627 1629 1631 1632 x3 1633 1635 1637 x2 1638 1639 1640 1641 1642 1643 1645 1646 1647 1648 1649 1650 & did not want to become a senator, attended all Sejms under Władysław IV, 1643 opposed paying off royal debts, 1646 Sejm opposed war with Turks; military career in the east, opposed Cossack wars
143.	Ostroróg, Sędziwój (1568-1624) 1616-21 Starosta of Wschowa 1622-4, Castellan of Międzyrzecz; Czech Brethren – Strasbourg university, patron of Kozminek & founded Ostroróg, at Toruń 1595, role at Wilno 1599, aid Poznań Lutherans in Paul Gertius case, 1604 on Wschowa tumult commission, 1609 Czech Brethren secular senior, protested against Bishop Opaliński's ban on building churches, 1611 director of Lublin Synod, rejected Socinian offer union, later life in Little Poland, kept ties with Lublin church; father Wacław, mother Katarzyna Leszczyńska, uncle Andrzej Leszczyński became his guardian on his father's early d.; republican; frequent Sejm deputy from Środa - 1613, 1615, 1618, 1619, 1620
144.	Padniewski, Marcin: 1593-1603 Castellan of Kamień
145.	Pogorzelski, Andrzej: 1635-8 Castellan of Przemęt
146.	Pogorzelski, Stanisław: 1643-51 Castellan of Rogalin, 1652-6 Castellan of Kalisz; courtier
147.	Potocki, Andrzej (d. 1609) 1607 Castellan of Kamień; dissenter; brother Jan, Palatine of Braclaw
148.	Potulicki, Jan (d. 1633) 1624-32 Castellan of Santok
149.	Potulicki, Piotr (d. 1606) 1569-76 Castellan of Przemęt, 1576-81 Palatine of Płock, 1581-84 Palatine of Brześć, 1584-04 Palatine of Kalisz; Lutheran convert to tolerant Catholicism 1592, Frankfurt/Oder university, daughter married into Czech Brethren, sons Catholic; close ties with Jan Zamoyski, father Mikołaj, daughter m. Czech Brethren Jan Rozrażewski; voted for Zygmunt III, 1 of 6 Palatines at his wedding to Anna Habsburg, carrying orb before him, Rokosz regalist; attended 1590-1 Sejm as senator, some other sejmiki, signed 1596 Środa tax protest, present at 1597 Środa sejmik when it agreed to oppose the Turkish league

150.	Potulicki, Stanisław: 1610-16 Under Chamberlain of Poznań
151.	Przerębski, J: Castellan of Sieradz in 1606; Rokosz regalist
152.	Przerębski, Maksimilian: 1613-I Sejm <i>marszałek</i> , Castellan of Zawichów, Radom, Sieradz, Palatine of Łęczyca; Catholic; ties to Ostroróg family; frequent Sejm deputy
153.	Przyborowski, Stanisław: 1620-34 Cup-bearer of Poznań, 1634-9 Castellan of Biechowo, 1639-42 Castellan of Rogoźno
154.	Przyjemski, Adam (d.1644) 1621 Royal Quartermaster, 1640-44 Castellan of Gniezno; tolerant Catholic - Lutherans settled on his land eg. 1638 founded Rawicz near his village of Sieraków, Lutheran immigrants in, no Catholic needed here till the 19 th century, also at his town Osieczno - allowed free worship, school, church, minister's house etc. and also patron of Catholic church there, Reform monks at Miejska Górka; father Mikołaj, Palatine of Inowrocław, mother Anna Służewska; ally of Krzysztof Opaliński, wife 2 Anna Grudzińska, daughter of Calvinist Zygmunt Palatine of Rawa; daughter Zofia m. Jan Opaliński future General Starosta; Rokosz regalist; attended Sejms 1624 1627 1629 1631 1635-I, sejmik 1626, 1627 1632 x2, 1640 as <i>marszałek</i> ; defended Środa's position against the Swedish war as deputy to the 1635 Sejm; fought v. Moscow at Chocim
155.	Przyjemski, Andrzej (d. 1618) 1603-15 Castellan of Gniezno, 1615 <i>marszałek</i> of Crown Tribunal at Lublin, 1617 Crown Marshal of the Court, Starosta of Kowal and Koniń; Catholic - 1590s Padua university; father Władysław, Under Chamberlain of Kalisz, mother Barbara Leszczyńska, brothers Krzysztof, Zygmunt; wife Katarzyna Rozrażewska; voted for Zygmunt III, 1591 Sejm chosen to represent Great Poland and justify the Koło assembly; Rokosz constitutionalist, <i>marszałek</i> of 1607 sejmik, negotiated with risers, 1616 Sejm deputy, 1618 Sejm as senator; lent ZIII money for Moscow wars 1610s, also diplomatic role at Smoleńsk
156.	Przyjemski, Andrzej (1615-63) 1652 Esquire Carver of Kalisz, 1653 Royal Quartermaster, 1654 Esquire Carver, 1659 Castellan of Łęczyca, 1661 Castellan of Chełm; Catholic - gave Jesuit 2 houses on Garbary (a main street in Poznań) in the 1660s; Protestant education at Leyden & Orleans but conversion when home after 1640; father Wojciech Castellan of Łędek, mother Anna Kozbokówna Witlewska; Deluge republican until 1656 then regalist, at Sejms 1646 1647 1649, 1650, interregnum 1648 assembly, role opposing war taxation pressures for Mazovia; 1645 to France to collect new Queen Louise Marie Gonzaga, anti Habsburg, anti Moscow
157.	Przyjemski, Rafał (d. 1576) 1567-76 Cup-bearer of Kalisz, 1576 Castellan of Łęczyca; Czech Brethren patron in his village Cienino, supported minister Jan Turnowski, senior in Koniń district; father Jan, mother Helena Bierzglińska, brothers wojciech & Stanisław; voted for Batory
158.	Przyjemski, Stanisław (d.1642) 1623-4 Palatine of Kalisz, 1624-8 Palatine of Poznań, 1628 Palatine of Inowrocław, 1628-42 General Starosta of Great Poland, 1630 Crown Marshal of the Court; Czech Brethren? - Jesuit education in Poznań college, signed Warsaw Confederation at 1632 Sejm, founded monastery at their residence in Koźmiń; father Andrzej Crown Marshal of the Court, brother Adam, wives from Catholic families, 1 Anna daughter of Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, 2 Anna, daughter of Piotr Opaliński Palatine of Poznań, his children Stanisław & Katarzyna to the care of Krzysztof Opaliński when their mother d. 1648; regalist under Batory, Sejm deputy 1618, 1621, 1623 1624 1626 x2 1628 1632, anti Habsburg, alliance with Pomeranian Prince Bogusław XIV & Elector of Brandenburg
159.	Przyjemski, Władysław (1571-1627) 1617-27 Under Chamberlain of Kalisz; Czech Brethren senior, patron of Cienino church, which his wife gave to the Lutherans after he died, Frankfurt/Oder, Heidelberg, Padua universities, signed 1609 dissenter protest to Bishop of Poznań, 1611 Sejm active in dissenter group, 1612 active protest against royal attempts to limit dissenter rights in Ducal Prussia; father Rafał. mother Katarzyna uncle Stanisław, with Janusz Radziwiłł, signed protest against clerical privileges & rejection of dissenter protests at 1612 Sejm, 1622 ally with Gembicki Archbishop of Gniezno, wife Barbara Leszczyńska

daughter of Rafał; Rokosz republican, 1620s courtier & regalist, also at Środa sejmik; Sejms 1597 1600 1611 1613 1616 1618 1619 1620 1625 1626; at 1616 Sejm defended <i>liberum veto</i> ; 1613 active on commission on grievances of Smoleńsk soldiers	
160.	Przyjemski, Władysław (d.1699) 1694 Starosta of Międzyrzecz, 1695 Castellan of Kalisz, 1698 Palatine of Kalisz; Catholic – supported building Jesuit church & school in Międzyrzecz; wife Katarzyna Przyjemska, the widow of Piotr Opaliński; politically active, at Środa confederation in interregnum, career as Sejm deputy for Kalisz until became a senator
161.	Przyjemski, Wojciech (d.1571) 1553-66 <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz, 1566-71 Castellan of Łędek; Catholic Reformer - links with Hosius; Father Jan, Mother Helena, brothers Stanisław & Rafał; close to Archbishop Jan Przerębski & Bishop of Poznań Andrzej Czarnkowski, who gave him villages for life whose will he executed, recommended as General Starosta by Deputy Chancellor Piotr Myszkowski; to Sejm from 1556, key role in debates towards Lithuanian union 1569
162.	Radomicki, Hieronim: 1621-46 Starosta of Wschowa, 1626-31 Castellan of Krzywiń, 1631-52 Palatine of Inowrocław; Catholic; sent sons to Krzysztof Opaliński's Sieraków school; Sejm deputy while senator
163.	Rożyński, Albrecht: in 1598 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Inowrocław; dissenter; Rokosz republican
164.	Rostworowski, Jakub (d. 1631) 1612-30 Castellan of Przemęt
165.	Roszkowski, Jan (d. 1604) Castellan of Śrem in 1572, 1576-1603 Castellan of Przemęt; Lutheran - 1591 opposed dissenter assembly at Radom
166.	Roszkowski, Jan: 1601-4 Castellan of Santok, 1604-11 Castellan of Przemęt, 1611-13 Castellan of Poznań; Lutheran; Rokosz regalist; Sejm deputy while senator 1602 1604
167.	Rozbicki, J: Czech Brethren patron
168.	Rozrażewski, Adam: 1641-74 Castellan of Przemęt
169.	Rozrażewski, Hieronim (1546-1600) 1581-1600 Bishop of Włocławek - key Catholic Reformer using Borromeo's methods in his diocese, protested against Warsaw Confederation in 1573 & 1586, reformed e.g. Cistercian order by approval of papal legate in 1580s, 1593 took Maria Church from Gdańsk Lutherans, causing a tumult – active to get return Prussian churches to Catholic hands, sent clergy to Poznań seminary, improved eg. hospitals & cathedral school, founded 6 churches, remembered dissenter brother in his will; father Stanisław, Castellan of Rogoźno, mother Zuzanna Myszelewska, brother of Stanisław, Jesuit, & Krzysztof; anti Zamoyski, from 1592 quarrel with Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł Bishop of Kraków, m. 1 Barbara Rachenberk, 2 Katarzyna Potulicka; pro Henri Valois, pro Batory & Zygmunt III, argued against Maximilian Habsburg at 1592 Sejm; at French court with brother in youth, later on papal diplomacy to HIV; pro Habsburg despite throne conflict - opposed Zamoyski's plans to exclude him from the throne, went to Vienna to arrange Zymunt III's marriage
170.	Rozrażewski, Hieronim, (d.1632) 1624-32 Castellan of Międzyrzecz; Catholic - tried to get uncle Jan to convert from Czech Brethren; Father Jan, mother Katarzyna Suchorzewska; uncle Jan Castellan of Poznań, ally of Krzysztof Radziwiłł. esp. 1630s; daughter Dorota m. Aleksander Opaliński, starosta of Inowrocław, daughter Barbara m. Paweł Gembicki Cup-bearer of Poznań; wife Barbara Kretkowska then m. Hieronim Radomicki Palatine of Inowrocław; Leszczyńskis his patrons; Rokosz republican, led Great Poland's szlachta to Lublin assembly; Sejms 1606 1615 1619 1623 1627 1629 1631, also deputy while a senator (1631), sejmiki again from 1613-32
171.	Rozrażewski, Jakub (1621-62) 1645-51 Castellan of Kalisz, 1652 Palatine of Inowrocław, Starosta of Koło & Koniń; Catholic? –Kraków university; Father Jan, Royal Cup-bearer, mother Gryzelda Sobieska, Opaliński links, esp. close to Krzysztof, 1 wife Anna Beata Przjemska née Opalińska is Krzysztof Opalińskis

<p>sister, 2 wife Katarzyna Firlejówna, uncle Jan Sobieski Palatine of Rus, guardian of brother Hieronim's children, executor of wills for Piotr & Jan Opaliński, Władysław Leszczyński & others; supporter of Queen Marie Louise, Deluge regalist soon after Ujście, role in burning of Leszno; Sejms 1644 1648 1649-I, 1649-II, less political activity once a Palatine</p>
<p>172. Rozrażewski, Jan (1543-1600) 1578-91 Under Chamberlain of Poznań, 1591-1600 Castellan of Poznań; Czech Brethren – Frankfurt/Oder university, resisted pressure to convert from Catholic family - Bishop Hieronim still visited him!; patron of Krotoszyn Czech Brethren, built them a new stone church, supported minister Paweł Orlicz, 1591 pro dissenter assembly at Radom, at Czech Brethren synod 1593, signed 1594 letter inviting Prussians to Radom Synod (they did not come), Lutheran Erasmus Gliczner dedicated his <i>Chronicon RP</i> (1597) to him; father Hieronim, mother Anna Żukowa, nephew Hieronim Castellan of Międzyrzecz, close from studies to Leszczyńskis such as Rafał, daughter Anna married Waclaw, anti Habsburg with Stanisław Przyjemski; Jesuit nephew Stanisław, second wife Katarzyna Potulicka; pro Henri Valois, pro Zygmunt III; not Sejm but eg. sejmik 1587 1591 1593 1600; anti Habsburg in interregnum 1586</p>
<p>173. Rozrażewski, Waclaw: Catholic patron of Socinian centre Śmigiel; wife Anna Orzelska, who then m. Przecław Leszczyński 1633</p>
<p>174. Russocki, Stanisław: 1588-97 Castellan of Santok; Czech Brethren</p>
<p>175. Rysiński, Krzysztof: Starosta of Nakło 1610-19, Under Chamberlain of Brześć</p>
<p>176. Schlichting, Jan Jerzy (1597-1658) 1632-57 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Wschowa; Czech Brethren - secular senior, prepared Colloquium with efforts towards Lutheran union; politically active for toleration eg. 1638 got Bishops guarantee to prevent popular attacks on dissenters, scholar at Leszno; founded Schlichtyngowa - Lutheran church, Silesian immigrants; administrator of Leszczyński lands, close client of Rafał till his death in 1636, then of Krzysztof Opaliński in the 1640s; Potop 1655 republican in Royal Prussia, 1656 regalist, Sejm X15, 1655 <i>marszałek</i> of Środa sejmik; 1646 at Congress of Westaphilia - went to protect Silesian Lutheran rights</p>
<p>177. Schlichting, Jonasz (1592-1661) to 1638 Raków minister & taught at school; Socinian - education Gdańsk & Raków schools, Altdorf & Leyden universities; Deluge republican, in Kraków sheltered by Swedes from anti Socinian demonstrations; Sejm 1647 condemned him to exile for writings; 1618 to England, France, 1657 to Silesia then Szczecin and Sweden; wrote much theological commentary & polemic with Catholicism, with Wolzogen –<i>Confessio</i> (1642) - Socinian creed probably published in Holland</p>
<p>178. Siemieński, Jan: Sword-Bearer of Sieradz; x4 <i>marszałek</i> of Sieradz sejmik, Sejm 1635 1637</p>
<p>179. Sieniawski, Rafał (d. 1589) 1587 Castellan of Kamień; dissenter</p>
<p>180. Sieniawski: Castellan of Inowrocław; Rokosz republican; deputy for Łęczyca</p>
<p>181. Sienieński, Jakub: Socinian patron</p>
<p>182. Sierakowski, Jan: 1568 Palatine of Łęczyca; Catholic</p>
<p>183. Sierakowski, Jan: 1649 Castellan of Santok, 1649 Castellan of Bydgoszcz</p>
<p>184. Sierakowski, Janusz: 1602 Castellan of Kruszwice; Calvinist</p>
<p>185. Sierakowski, Łukasz: 1613-20 Castellan of Kruszwice, 1620-3 Castellan of Łędek</p>
<p>186. Sierakowski, Stanisław (d. 1596) to 1576 Castellan of Cujavia, 1576-96 Castellan of Łędek; Calvinist? links with Czech Brethren</p>
<p>187. Służewski, Jan: Palatine of Brześć in 1572; Lutheran</p>
<p>188. Smogulecki, Jan Jakub (d.1639) 1637-8 Starosta of Nakło</p>
<p>189. Smogulecki, Jan Mikołaj: 1631-33 Starosta of Nakło; Catholic - Jesuit in Kraków after gave up the starostaship; royal courtier; Sejm 1633 1634 1635; later</p>

Jesuit missionary in China	
190.	Smogulecki, Maciej (d.c.1636): 1607 Starosta of Bydgoszcz, 1633-6 Starosta of Nakło; royal courtier, father of Jan Mikołaj.
191.	Smoszewski, Jan: Castellan of Santok 1633-44
192.	Stadnicki, Adam; Castellan of Przemyśl to 1606, 1606-14 Castellan of Kalisz, Palatine of Belz; Rokosz regalist
193.	Szczawiński, Jakub: 1616 Starosta of Łęczyca, <i>marszałek</i> 1620 Sejm, Palatine of Brześć; Catholic
194.	Szołdrski, Andrzej (1583-1650) 1607 Canon of Poznań, 1613 Canon of Gniezno, 1617 Canon of Kraków, 1625 Provost of Poznań, 1634 Bishop of Kiev, 1635 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1638-50 Bishop of Poznań, Crown Tribunal deputy x3; Rome university, doctor of law, rebuilt Poznań Cathedral and care for Lubrański Academy, Catholic reformer close to papal curia, directed synods 1636 Przemyśl 1642 Poznań "some toleration towards dissenters for internal peace" (Ochmann); father Stanisław, 1634 administrator of Bishopric of Kraków for Cardinal Jan Albert; links with Krzysztof Opaliński; secretary and treasurer to prince Władysław, remained close and did the king's funeral speech; sejmiaki Środa 1613 1614 representing royal interests
195.	Szołdrski, Jan: 1639-43 Castellan of Biechowo
196.	Szołdrski, Mikołaj: 1644-90 Castellan of Biechowo
197.	Szyszkowski, Jerzy: 1621-8 Standard-bearer of Kalisz, 1628-33 Castellan of Biechowo
198.	Szyszkowski M: 1604 Bishop of Płock
199.	Szyszkowski: Castellan of Konarsko-Sieradz, Rokosz republican
200.	Tarnowski, Jan (1549-1605) 1577 Royal Secretary, 1581 Royal Referendary, 1591 Deputy Chancellor, 1597-1600 Bishop of Poznań, 1600 Bishop of Włocławek, 1604-5 Archbishop of Gniezno; father Piotr, at court of Stanisław Karnkowski when he was Bishop of Włocławek; Vienna & Italian universities; regalist
201.	Tchorzewski: Cup-bearer of Brześć; Rokosz republican, withdrew loyalty from the crown
202.	Tomicki, Jan: 1549-53 Under Chamberlain of Kalisz, 1553-63 Castellan of Rogalin, 1563-75 Castellan of Gniezno; Lutheran - attended 1570 Synod of Sandomierz
203.	Tomicki, Piotr (d. 1600) 1587 Castellan of Nakło, ?Castellan of Gniezno; Czech Brethren, patron of church at Wieruszowo
204.	Tuczyński, Krzysztof: 1615-23 Castellan of Santok, 1623-49 Castellan of Poznań
205.	Turnowski, Jan (1567-1629) minister 1593 at Poznań, 1595 at Baranów, 1597-8 at Krotoszyn, 1604-10 Łobżenica, 1610 preacher at Toruń till d., also professor of theology at the Gymnasium there, refusing consistor position in Prague; Czech Brethren senior 1612+, active at synods in Moravia and Poland, Geneva university in the train of Andrzej Ossoliński, Geneva Strasbourg Zürich Basel universities, Dr. of Theology from Marburg, at Toruń synod 1595, also contact with Socinians for which Czech Brethren condemned him; father also minister Jan, nephew Szymon below, 1595 preacher to Andrzej Leszczyński & accompanied him to Sejms; possible Rokosz republican at Środa 1606; worked on Polish translation of the New Testament
206.	Turnowski, Szymon (1544-1608) minister at Lutomiersk 1573, 1587 senior, at Ostroróg residence; Czech Brethren – role at Sandomierz 1570, leading role Toruń 1595, also Wilno 1599, sought union with Orthodox & Lutherans though resisted excessive Calvinist influence on the Czech Brethren; parents expelled 1548 from Bohemia for Czech Brethren beliefs, attended many Moravian synods though also conflict with home church; wrote <i>Compendium historia fratrum polonorum</i> , later published in <i>Zwierciadło nabożeństwa chrześcijaństwa w Polsce</i> (Wilno 1994)
207.	Twardowski, Andrzej: District Chief of Bydgoszcz; Czech Brethren patron & Colloquium representative; frequent Sejm deputy 1633 to 1647 for Kalisz

208.	Tylicki Piotr: 1604 Bishop of Włocławek, 1607-16 Bishop of Kraków
209.	Walewski, Adam: 1637-42 Castellan of Sieradz; x3 <i>marszałek</i> of Sieradz sejmik, Rokosz regalist
210.	Walewski, Marcin: Under Chamberlain, then Standard-bearer of Sieradz; x5 <i>marszałek</i> of Sieradz sejmik, Sejm 1640 1642
211.	Walewski, Mikołaj: 1601-10 Starosta of Nakło
212.	Wężyk, Jan (1575-1638) Royal Secretary, Grand Royal Secretary, 1614 Archdeacon of Warsaw, 1624-7 Bishop of Poznań, 1627-38 Archbishop of Gniezno; educated at Kalisz Jesuit college, Kraków university, Rome with Bellarmine, Cardinal Salviati to dr. of law, also theology; father Hieronim, mother Dorota Zaleska, at court of Jan Tarnowski, then Bishop of Kujawy; regalist under Zygmunt III; frequent attendance at Sejm WIV x12 1633-47
213.	Witosławski, Wojciech: Czech Brethren senior: Sejm deputy for Środa 1598
214.	Włostowski, Wacław: 1615-21 Castellan of Krzywiń; Rokosz republican, <i>marszałek</i> Sieradz assembly, withdrew loyalty from crown
215.	Wołucki, P: Bishop of Kamieńiec, 1577-90 Bishop of Płock, 1607 Bishop of Łuck, 1616-22 Bishop of Włocławek
216.	Wolzogen, Jan Ludwik (1599-1661) Austrian Baron von Tarenfeldt; Socinian; Deluge republican; anti Habsburg, exiled as dissenter, arrived Raków 1629; 1641-6 client of Krzysztof Opaliński, education and philosophical ties with Comenius; 1625 to serve Elector Brandenburg; 1630s Holland; 1647promoting Socinianism abroad, 1648 mission to Brandenburg from Krzysztof Opaliński for alliance with Sweden; 1645 to France to collect new Queen Louise Marie Gonzaga; translated Socinian works into German, conducted polemic together with Schlichting, own works <i>De natura et qualitate regni christi et religionis chistianae</i> arguments against war; philosophical critique of Descartes' sensualism in <i>Breves in meditationes metaphysicas renati cartesii adnotatives</i> (Amsterdam 1658)
217.	Wysocki, Krzysztof: 1624-5 Castellan of Nakło; 1625 Castellan of Brześć
218.	Zajaczek, Wacław: 1613-31 <i>pisarz grodzki</i> for Kalisz, 1631-4 <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Kalisz; Lutheran, allied with Archbishop Wężyk of Gniezno, frequent Sejm deputy with leader status at least x10 1620-31
219.	Zborowski, Jan (d. 1603) 1576-1601 Castellan of Gniezno, 1576 Hetman; Lutheran - built churches in Pleszew & Odolanów; 1591opposed dissenter assembly at Radom; regalist v. Środa on taxation for Livonian war 1602
220.	Zebrzydowski, Andrzej: 1592-97 Castellan of Śrem
221.	Zebrzydowski, Kacper : 1624 Castellan of Kamień, 1624-49 Castellan of Kalisz
222.	Złotkowski, Andrzej: 1622 Castellan of Kamień
223.	Złotkowski, Stanisław: 1584-97 Castellan of Biechowo; opposed 1591 dissenter assembly at Radom
224.	Żegocki, Marcin: Son Krzysztof became Palatine of Inowrocław and Bishop of Chełmno; <i>marszałek</i> of Sejms 1626-II, 1632-II, <i>sędzia ziemskie</i> of Wschowa 1620-31, Castellan of Przemyśl 1631-5, Catholic, Rokosz republican, frequent Sejm deputy, also while a senator; 1621 1625 1626 1628 1629

d) Land Ownership

The alphabetical list below contains all the szlachta from Great Poland mentioned in this thesis, including the property they held, as far as could be ascertained. The data has been collated from a wide range of sources cited in the biography, relying especially on Edward Opaliński's study of property holding in his *Elita władzy w województwach i poznańskim i kaliskim za Zygmunta III* (Poznań, 1981), regional & national dictionaries of biography. The starostas of Nakło and Wschowa had a higher jurisdictional function and so are noted by name.

Name	Starosta (also outside Great Poland)	Towns (outside)	Villages (outside)
1. Arciszewski, Eljasz (1590-1655?)			
2. Arciszewski, Krzysztof (1592-1656)			
3. Arciszewski, Eljasz (d.1630)			< 5
4. Baliński, Adam (d. 1602)			
5. Baranowski, Maciej			6
6. Baranowski, Wojciech	1		18
7. Baranowski, Wojciech (1548-1615)			1
8. Bojanowski, Mikołaj			
9. Bojanowski, Stefan (ca.1605-1660)			
10. Bojanowski, Świętosław			
11. Bojanowski, Wojciech			
12. Broniewski, Hieronim			
13. Broniewski, Marcin (d. 1624)			
14. Broniewski, Jan			
15. Bykowski, Stanisław			
16. Chojeński, Piotr (d. 1615)			9
17. Chrzęstowski, Sędziwój			5
18. Cielicki, Krzysztof			7
19. Ciświcki, Abraham (d. 1644)		1	28.5 (4)
20. Comenius Jan Amos (1592-1670)			
21. Czarnkowski, Adam Sędziwój (1555-1627)	6	3	71.5
22. Czarnkowski, Andrzej (d. 1618)	1	1	31
23. Czarnkowski, Jan (1597-8)		1	20
24. Czarnkowski, Jan	1		
25. Czarnkowski, Piotr (d. 1591)	1	1	41.7
26. Czarnkowski, Piotr	1		15
27. Czarnkowski, Sędziwój Franciszek (d. 1655)	2		
28. Czarnkowski, Stanisław (1526-1602)			
29. Czarnkowski, Wojciech Sędziwój (d.1578)	1		
30. Denhoff, Kasper			
31. Firlej, Henryk (1599-1635)			
32. Głoskowski, Maciej			
33. Gajewski, Jan			5
34. Gajewski, Wojciech	Wschowa		
35. Gembicki, Andrzej			
36. Gembicki, Krzysztof (d.1659)	4		
37. Gembicki, Paweł (d. 1687)	1		
38. Gembicki, Paweł			
39. Gembicki, Piotr (?1637-48)			

40. Gembicki, Stefan (d.1653)	2 including Nakło	1	20
41. Gembicki, Wawrzyniec (1559-1624)			
42. Gniewosz, M			
43. Goślicki, Wawrzyniec (1530-1607)			
44. Górka, Andrzej (1534-93)	7	1	31(Lublin Palatinate)
45. Górka, Łukasz (1536-73)	1	12	100
46. Górka, Stanisław (1532-92)	3	8 (4)	100.5 (131)
47. Górski, Jan	Wschowa		5.8
48. Gostomski, Hieronim (d. 1609)	7 (also Sandomierz)		17
49. Gostomski, Jan (1576-1623)	6 from father above		17.5
50. Gostomski, Stanisław			
51. Gostyński, Andrzej			
52. Gostyński, Stanisław		1	4
53. Grodziecki, Adam (d. 1646)			9.8
54. Grodziecki, Andrzej			
55. Grodziecki, Piotr			16
56. Grudziński, Andrzej (d.1678)	3	6	90
57. Grudziński, Jan			13
58. Grudziński, Janusz			13
59. Grudziński, Stefan (d.1588)	1		20
60. Grudziński, Zygmunt (1572-1653)	1	7, houses in Poznań & Gdańsk	106
61. Grudziński, Zygmunt (d. 1618)	1		
62. Grzymultowski, Jan			2
63. Guldenstern, Zygmunt	1		
64. Karnkowski, Jan	1		
65. Karnkowski, Stanisław (1520-1603)			
66. Kielczewski, Wacław	Wschowa		4
67. Kołaczkowski, Mikołaj			6
68. Konarski, Jan			8.6
69. Koniczowski, Aleksander (d.1609?)	1		
70. Koniczowski, M			
71. Kościelecki, Krzysztof	Nakło		10
72. Kościelecki, Jan (1544-1600)		1, house in Poznań	23
73. Kościelecki, Łukasz (1539-1597)		1	13
74. Kościelecki, Stanisław (d. 1583)	2 including Nakło		
75. Koźmiński, Piotr			
76. Kretkowski, Łukasz (d. 1603)			
77. Krotoski, Andrzej (d. 1632)			≥2
78. Krotoski, Jan (d. 1577)			≥3
79. Kryszkowski, Jerzy			
80. Krzysztoporski, Jan (d. 1588)			
81. Latański, Jerzy (d. 1602)		2	43
82. Latański, Mikołaj (d. 1633)			16
83. Latański, Rafał (d. after 1628)		4	44
84. Latański, S (d. 1619)			≥1
85. Leszczyński, Andrzej (1559-1606)	Nakło	2 (4)	34.2 (30)
86. Leszczyński, Andrzej (1608-1658)			
87. Leszczyński, Bogusław (1612-59)			

88. Leszczyński, Jan (1603-78)	5		
89. Leszczyński, Przecław (1605-1670)	2 including Wschowa		
90. Leszczyński, Rafał (1526-92)	3	2 (1)	50.5 (15)
91. Leszczyński, Rafał (1579-1636)	7 including Wschowa	2 (2)	61 (55)
92. Leszczyński, Rafał (1650-1703)	4 including Wschowa (3)		
93. Leszczyński, Stanisław (1677-1766)			
94. Leszczyński, Wacław (1576-1628)	4	1	36.5
95. Leszczyński, Wacław (1605-66)			
96. Leszczyński, Władysław (d.1679)	3	1	3
97. Lipski, Andrzej			
98. Lipski, Jan (1589-1641)			
99. Lutomirski, Mikołaj			1
100. Lwowski, Marcin (d. 1590)			
101. Łacki, Jan Korzbok (d.1662)	Nakło		
102. Łaski, Olbracht (1536-1605)			
103. Łaszcz Piotr			22
104. Łowicki, Jan	4		10
105. Łubieński, Stanisław (1573-1640)			
106. Łubieński, Maciej (1572-1652)			
107. Maciejowski, Bernard (1548-1608)			
108. Maniecki, Hieronim			5
109. Maniecki, Maciej			10.5
110. Męciński, Andrzej			
111. Mielżyński, Łukasz (1560-1628)	2	1	27
112. Mielżyński, Krzysztof (d. 1658)	1		
113. Mielżyński, Mikołaj (d.1640)		1	16
114. Mielecki, Adam			
115. Mielecki, Samuel			
116. Mielński, Mikołaj			9.3
117. Niemojewski, Jan			
118. Nowodworski, Adam (1572-1634)			(6)
119. Opalińska, Zofia (m.1607 d.1639)	on husband's death:	2	43
120. Opaliński, Andrzej (1540-93)			36.2
121. Opaliński, Andrzej (1576-1623)	1		5
122. Opaliński, Andrzej			8
123. Opaliński, Jan (1546-98)	1	4	38.3
124. Opaliński, Jan (1581-1637)	1	6	60
125. Opaliński, Jan Piotr (1601-65)	1		20
126. Opaliński, Jan (1629-1684)			
127. Opaliński, Krzysztof (1609-55)	1	3	75
128. Opaliński, Łukasz (1581-1654)	3	1	17.5
129. Opaliński, Łukasz (1612-62)		(4)	133
130. Opaliński, Piotr (1566-160)	5 including Nakło (4)		15
131. Opaliński, Piotr (1587-1624)	2	2	43
132. Orzelski, Jan (1551-1612)	2	1	10
133. Orzelski, Łukasz (d. 1659)			2
134. Orzelski, Mikołaj			18
135. Orzelski, Świętosław (1549-98)	1		4
136. Ossowski, Andrzej (d.1666)	Wschowa		
137. Ossowski, Jan (d. 1616)			12.5
138. Ossowski, Stanisław			

139.	Ossowski, Wacław			
140.	Ostroróg, Jan (1565-1622)	1 (2)	2 (6)	24.5 (60)
141.	Ostroróg, Marcin (d.1590)		3	28.5
142.	Ostroróg, Mikołaj (1593-1651)	total 11, not simultaneous	in Rus Palatinate	in Rus Palatinate
143.	Ostroróg, Sędziwój (1568-1624)	Wschowa	1	14
144.	Padniewski, Marcin			11.5
145.	Pogorzelski, Andrzej	1		
146.	Pogorzelski, Stanisław			
147.	Potocki, Andrzej (d. 1609)			
148.	Potulicki, Jan (d. 1633)			6
149.	Potulicki, Piotr (d. 1606)	1	6	71.5
150.	Potulicki, Stanisław		4	71.5
151.	Przerębski, J			
152.	Przerębski, Maksimilian			
153.	Przyborowski, Stanisław			
154.	Przyjemski, Adam (d.1644)	1	3	1
155.	Przyjemski, Andrzej (d. 1618)			≥10
156.	Przyjemski, Andrzej (1615-63)	2	2	33.5
157.	Przyjemski, Rafał (d. 1576)			8.5
158.	Przyjemski, Stanisław (d.1642)	2	4	71.5
159.	Przyjemski, Władysław (1571-1627)			18
160.	Przyjemski, Władysław (d.1699)	1		12
161.	Przyjemski, Wojciech (d.1571)		1	≥6
162.	Radomicki, Hieronim	Wschowa		28
163.	Rożyński, Albrecht			
164.	Rostworowski, Jakub (d. 1631)			
165.	Roszkowski, Jan (d. 1604)		1	14
166.	Roszkowski, Jan			21.5
167.	Rozbicki, J			
168.	Rozrażewski, Adam			
169.	Rozrażewski, Hieronim (1546-1600)			
170.	Rozrażewski, Hieronim (d.1632)		2	34
171.	Rozrażewski, Jakub (1621-62)	2	3	63.8
172.	Rozrażewski, Jan (1543-1600)		2	43
173.	Rozrażewski, Wacław			≥1
174.	Russocki, Stanisław		1	17
175.	Rysiński, Krzysztof	Nakło	0	2
176.	Schlichting, Jan Jerzy (1597-1658)		1	2.5
177.	Schlichting, Jonasz (1592-1661)			
178.	Siemieński, Jan			
179.	Sieniawski, Rafał (d. 1589)			
180.	Sieniawski			
181.	Sienieński, Jakub			
182.	Sierakowski, Jan			
183.	Sierakowski, Jan			
184.	Sierakowski, Janusz			
185.	Sierakowski, Łukasz			5
186.	Sierakowski, Stanisław (d. 1596)			6.2
187.	Służewski, Jan			
188.	Smogulecki, Jan Jakub (d.1639)	Nakło		4
189.	Smogulecki, Jan Mikołaj	Nakło		4
190.	Smogulecki, Maciej	2 including Nakło		
191.	Smoszewski, Jan			
192.	Stadnicki, Adam	3		

193.	Szczawiński, Jakub	1		
194.	Szołdrski, Andrzej (1583-1650)			
195.	Szołdrski, Jan			
196.	Szołdrski, Mikołaj			
197.	Szyszkowski, Jerzy		1	27.5
198.	Szyszkowski M			
199.	Szyszkowski			
200.	Tarnowski, Jan (1549-1605)			
201.	Tchorzewski			
202.	Tomicki, Jan			
203.	Tomicki, Piotr (d. 1600)			1
204.	Tuczyński, Krzysztof		1	20
205.	Turnowski, Jan (1567-1629)			
206.	Turnowski, Szymon (1544-1608)			
207.	Twardowski, Andrzej			
208.	Tylicki Piotr			
209.	Walewski, Adam			
210.	Walewski, Marcin			
211.	Walewski, Mikołaj	Nakło		11
212.	Wężyk, Jan (1575-1638)			
213.	Witosławski, Wojciech			
214.	Włostowski, Wacław			2
215.	Wołucki, P			
216.	Wolzogen, Jan Ludwik (1599-1661)			
217.	Wysocki, Krzysztof			9
218.	Zajączek, Wacław			4.5
219.	Zborowski, Jan (d. 1603)	2		11.5
220.	Zebrzydowski, Andrzej			9
221.	Zebrzydowski, Kacper		1	12
220.	Złotkowski, Andrzej			4
221.	Złotkowski, Stanisław			18
222.	Żegocki, Marcin			15

e) Krystyna Poniatowska: Prophecies

The following is taken from a collection of "prophetical extracts" in English edited by Sir Richard Bulkeley in the British Library. Krystyna Poniatowska (1610-1644) was a Czech Brethren woman who emigrated to Leszno in 1628. Comenius was particularly interested in her prophecies of the downfall of the Habsburg Empire.

The Lives, Prophecies, Visions and Revoelations of Christopher Kotterus, and Christina Poniatonia, two eminent prophets, in Germany.

Containing Predictions concerning the Pope, the King of France, and the Roman Empire; with the Sudden Destruction of the Papal Power, the Miraculous Conversion of the Turks, the Calling in of the Jews,

And the uniting of ALL RELIGIONS into ONE universal visible CHURCH.

Many of which Prophecies being desired by the then King of Bohemia, were by the learned Comenius presented to him.

(Printed from the original by G Terry, London 1664)

[p.25]

The Life of Christina Poniatonia, a prophetess of Germany, in the year 1627

Christina was the daughter of *Julianus Poniatonius*, one of the ministers of *Prague*, who was invited to live privately wit the illustrious *Charles de Zezotin, Pro-Marquis of Moravia*. *Julianus* placed his daughter *Christina* with the Lady *Engelburh* of *Zelkin*, Baroness of *Zarubia*, and descended of the house of *Austria*; where she was entertained with that respect which was due unto a gentlewoman of her birth and quality. She began to have her Revelations and Raptures at *Branna* in *Bohemia*, when she was about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and lived with the Lady above-mentioned; who at the first conceived those violent impressions to be the visitations only of some ruder fever, and therefore sent for *Labanius* and *Lohmullerus*, two eminent professors of physic, who both acknowledged that her case was not within the reach of their art.

In many of her Visions she seemed to be rapt with an exilience of joy, in which the delights of the everlasting Bridegroom with faithful soul are most wonderfully and lively represented.

As in the Visions of *Kotterus*, there appeared angels to him in the shape of young men, so in the visions of *Christina*, who was a virgin, the Ancient of Days appeared unto her as an old man, who did reveal unto her the downfall of the EMPIRE OF GERMANY, and of the POPE OF ROME; with many other wonders, and terrible things to come to pass towards the end of the world.

[p.26] After a great and extraordinary rapture, which almost ravished her soul from her body, so that her recovery from it was a kind of resurrection from death, it then pleased God that her Revelations ceased, and much about that time her father died. Not long afterward, *Daniel Vetterus* (who taught *Frederic-Henry*, the eldest son of the King of *Bohemia*, the *Bohemian* tongue) did court her in the way of marriage for she was beautiful both in body and in mind; and it being first propounded to the divines of the reformed churches in those parts, they gave their consent unto it, alleging the example of *Deborah*, the wife of *Lapidoth*, a prophetess, yet married, *Judg.* iv. 4; and the example of *Huldah*, wife of *Sellum*, *2 Kings*, xiii. 14.

They lived comfortably together for the space of twelve years and two months, and had two sons and three daughters, whom they carefully brought up in good manners, and in the fear of God.

In the month of *June*, 1644, it pleased God to visit her with a great cough, and a dangerous defluxion of rheum upon her lungs; which, being attended with a hectic fever, did translater her unto a better Husband in the four-and-thirtieth year of her age. Her death was much lamented, and her funeral observed with great solemnity.

The visions and revelations of Christina Poniatonia

Her first Vision was this, which she did commit to writing with her own hand. On the 12th of *November*, in the year 1627, on which day my [p.27] Lady the Baroness having sent me into the garden, I beheld in the air, says she, over the house a rod bound like a broom, the handle whereof was towards the *North*, and the end of it was towards the *South*; being affrighted at the sight whereof, I did run to call others to look upon it, but presently afterwards it vanished away out of my eyes.

The VISION on the 13th of January, 1628

A most venerable ancient man appearing, and having taken me by one hand, and the Lord by another, they did lead me, says she, into a pleasant garden, when, behold, a Lion came running out from one part of the garden, and other Lions from other parts, and met together in one place. They were remarkable in their stature, insomuch that I was greatly afraid. The one of them was of an azure colour, and the other of a red; and in their fore-paws they had great swords, and sharp and long talons: they stood on their hinder feet, and in their fore-feet they did hold swords.

Look again, said the Ancient unto me; I therefore lifted up my eyes, and, behold, a White Horse, of a stupendous bulk, having two heads, and holding in his fore-feet an Iron Globe, red-hot as a coal of fire: his gait was portly and impetuous; and he trod on the earth with so much pride, that it trembled under him. Coming near unto the Lions, he began to go but softly, as if he was afraid of them, or had a mind to go back again; but the Lions stood over against him with great boldness, and sometimes they had their heads together, as if they whispered something to one another, and yet they did bear a vigilant eye on the Horse: but the Horse, drawing near unto the Lion, did suddenly throw the fiery Globe amongst them; hoping it would come to pass, that while the Lions were contending for the Globe, he might have [p.28] the opportunity to escape away; but the Globe being neglected by the Lions, they did set upon the Horse, and did first bereave him of his two heads, afterwards they did tear his body in pieces, and on a sudden they devoured it, and having spoken something again to one another, they threw the Bowl or Globe from them.

The Ancient said unto me, Lift up thine eyes again; which I did, and beheld a high and a broad tree standing between the Lions, and shading them with it's boughs. On the top of all the tree I beheld a great Eagle sitting, having two heads, and four wings, and four feet, and two trains. And I heard the Eagle to make a great noise, but I could not understand the meaning of it; I therefore asked the Ancient, What is the meaning of that great noise which the Eagle maketh? He answered, The bird pronounceth these things, "Behold I sit on high, being exalted above all others; who is so bold to come unto me, and move me from this high place? None is, none will be so presumptuous." But the Lions came, and taking hold of the tree with their fore-feet, they did shake it with so much violence, that the Eagle fell down; whom they did tear in pieces, and devoured, as they had devoured the Horse.

The Ancient again said unto me, Come, and see yet more: and he did lead me to a great broad water, on the bank whereof there stood another great Tree, which did spread it's boughs a great way. The Ancient said unto me, *Behold!* and immediately the same Lions coming to the tree, did shake and throw it to the ground; they plucked up the roots of it with their paws, and threw the body, boughs, and root, into the water; which when they had done, they made the ground level and smooth where the roots were, that there might not be the least appearance where so great a Tree did stand.

The Ancient said to me again, Come, and behold the end. I came, and saw a stately, great, and [p.29] magnificent building, most richly set forth with all the art that possibly could delight the eye. I asked the old man what was that spacious and stately building; he told me this was that proud and rebellious house, shining without, and glorious, but within full of all manner of impurities, abominations, and impieties: it is that GREAT BABYLON, whose ruin doth now draw near; for it is impossible that this house should stand any longer, because her sins and her transgressions are come up to Heaven. Observe but the doom that does attend it.

Immediately there came again the former Lions, and with them a third Lion, white as snow; and coming to the house, they began to demolish it, and from the foundation to overthrow it, the White Lion assisting them with all his strength and power, until the whole building did fall down; on which the Lions trampling, cried out with a loud voice, BABYLON IS FALLEN, IT IS FALLEN! the Great House of AUSTRIA IS FALLEN! that proud and lofty house is fallen to the ground! neither shall it ever be builded up again; that abominable and tyrannical place is utterly destroyed, but not by our power, but by the power of the victorious Lion of the tribe of *Judah*. After this the Lions departed one from another, one of them this way, and the other another way; and a mighty wind arising, did so disperse the sand, that nothing of it was to be seen.

The Ancient then said unto me, Seest thou what hath been done? I answered, yes, Lord, I have seen it; but I beseech thee to instruct me what is meant by the Horse, the Eagle, the Tree, and the House.

He answered, By that Horse, that Eagle, that Tree, and that House, there is nothing else to be understood, but the Emperor, and the Pope and all that Devilish Anti-Christian Synagogue, which shall suddenly be cast down, and blotted out of [p.30] memory. The Lions are the *Hungarian*, the *Turk*, the *Tartar*, the *Swede*, the *Dane*, the *Hollander*, the *English*, the *French*, the *Switzer*, and the *Saxon*. By these ANTI-CHRIST and *Babylon*, and the kingdom of Satan, shall be utterly overthrown, especially that *Great House of Austria*; which they, with all their power, were not able to pluck down, were it not for the assistance of the WHITE LION of the *tribe of Judah*, and you have seen how much he hath contributed to it; he was a defence and a strength to all the rest, that by the virtue of his power they might always overcome.

The VISION, June 23, 1628

She says, being in an extasy for the space of three hours, I saw what followeth. The Ancient, taking me by the hand, said unto me, This day the judgements of the Lord shall be shewn unto you, and his power, by which he will cast down the proud from their THRONES, and exalt the humble in their places. Observe, therefore, diligently those things which now are to be revealed to you.

Immediately afterwards I beheld a Throne, and the EMPEROR OF GERMANY sitting on it. On the other side I beheld another Throne lifted up, and a certain person sitting on it, and a multitude of men about it; some of which were coming to him, others were going from him, and many humbled themselves at his feet, and brought silver and gold unto him; and prostrating themselves, they wept, and hissed his feet; to whom he gave certain papers, and commanded them to depart.

Having observed these things, I asked the Lord [p.31] who he was, who had so high an estimation among men, that they fell down on their knees to kiss his feet? The Lord made answer to me, This is the WHORE OF BABYLON, that cruel Beast, who arrogateth to himself *Ecclesiastical* and *Temporal* Priority, and would have all things under his jurisdiction. This is the Man who troubleth the Earth, and setting Kingdom against Kingdom, hath brought a Desolation upon the World, compelling all nations to pay homage to him. This is that *Basilisk* of the seed of the *Viper*, the Fiery Dragon, flying through the Earth, who forces Kings to obey him, and who, with the sparks of fire that come from him, do inflame the nations to fight one against the other. This is HE who, calling himself a *shepherd*, is a ravening wolf, a furious Beast, and a prodigy. He calls himself the VICAR OF GOD in his Church, and the Head of the Church; when indeed he is the Vicar of Satan, and My capital Enemy.

This is HE who said in his heart, I will ascend into Heaven, and exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and will be like to the Most High. But God hath heard his words, and known his thoughts; and therefore the Most High could no longer endure it, but rouzed up Himself in his fury, to call to an account this proud violator of his Name, and not to suffer him any more to seduce the nations of the world; for already he hath long enough seduced them by his lies, by taking from them their gold and their silver, and returning nothing but empty papers.

The Lord said to me again, *Look about you with diligence*. And I beheld two very great Personages coming hastily, the one from the East, the other from the North; who

grappling with the EMPEROR and the POPE, did overthrow them with so much force, that the earth trembled at their fall; and they did tear in pieces the thrones on which they say, [p.32] that they did fly into little splinters; who rolling in the dust, did bellow forth their complaints like two bulls, and cried out, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, for thou hast rewarded us according to our works.*

The VISION, February 9, 1628

After these things, I beheld another man, with a Trumpet in his hand; who, turning towards the North, did sound it with so much vigour, that the skies did ring again with the voice thereof. I asked of the angel, who came unto me with a book in his hand, who it was, and why he did sound his trumpet so loudly? He made answer to me, It is the Angel of God, sent to call the Nations of the *North*, the *East*, and the *West*, against BABYLON, for now is the predestinated time that *Babylon* must fall. O how dreadfully shall *Babylon* be laid waste! how irrecoverably shall *Egypt* be destroyed! Whosoever passeth this way shall be amazed, and shall weep at the horror of the ruin of it. Behold the day of her visitation is at hand, and of the wickedness of her inhabitants. And it shall come to pass, that he which flies from the sword shall fall into the pit; and who escapeth from the pit, shall fall into the snare; and the vallies shall be filled with the carcases of the dead.

The VISION, February 11, 1628

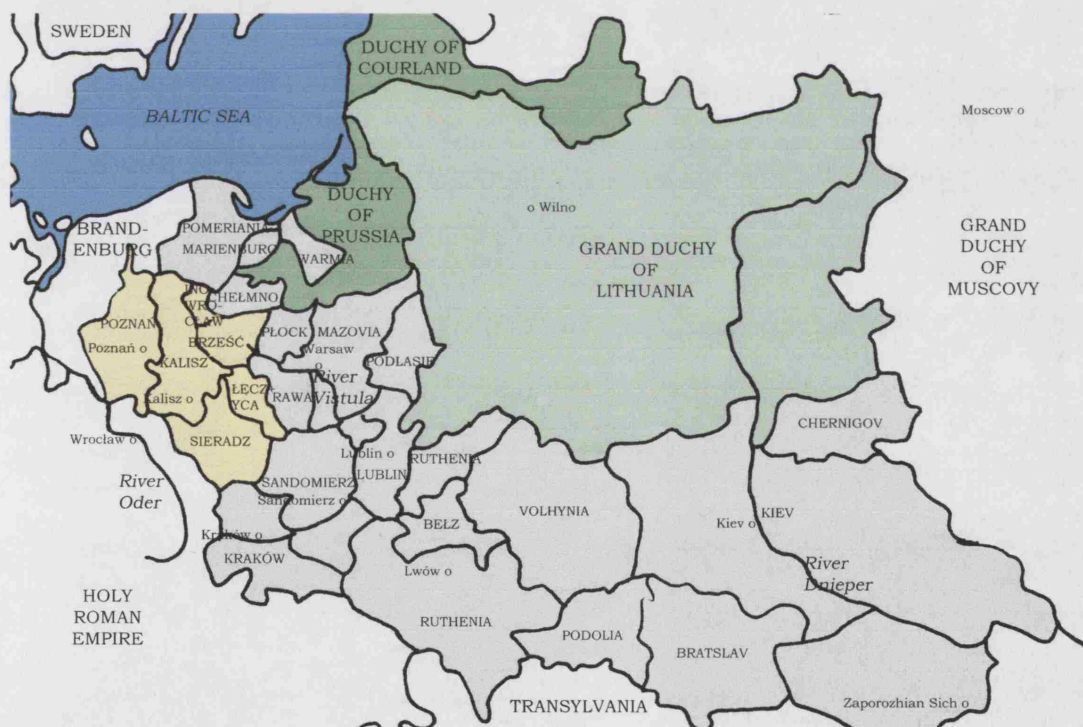
Two days afterwards, the Lord himself appeared to me, and with him the angel that brought the book unto me. I was commanded to read ten leaves in it, which I did, and he shut the book, and departed; but the Lord continued still with me, of whom I desired to know when this destruction of the wicked should come to pass? He made answer to me, Seek not to know *how* or *when* the wicked shall perish, but endeavour to understand [p.33] *when* and *how* the godly shall be saved: neither rejoice you that the destruction of the wicked is at hand; but rather weep and lament that the anger of God cannot be diverted from them. The House of *Austria* shall undoubtedly fall, and the Whore of *Babylon* be brought to confusion; for they have trod upon the righteous in their pride of heart, and have vainly imagined there is no God; wherefore God will laugh them to scorn; he will be known amongst them, and the abominations of their own pride shall fall on their own heads.

f) Maps

The following maps are included here;
in all cases, only locations mentioned in the thesis text are included.

- f.1: an overview of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including its neighbours
- f.2: Great Poland in the Polish Kingdom, 1587-1648, political
 - key Sejm, sejmik and assembly sites
- f.3: Great Poland in the Polish Kingdom, 1587-1648, confessional
 - location of church centres and synod sites
- f.4: Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, political
 - palatinate and district capitals, *gród* court and sejmik locations, key towns
- f.5: Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, confessional
 - location of dissenter churches and synod sites

f.1: Poland-Lithuania in the mid-seventeenth century



The yellow area indicates the six palatinates of Great Poland.
Places in **LARGER CAPITALS** are regions and nations outside the Polish Kingdom.
Places in **SMALLER CAPITALS** are palatinates within the Polish Kingdom.

f.2: Great Poland in the Polish Kingdom, political

key Sejm, sejmik and assembly sites



The yellow area indicates the six palatinates of Great Poland.
Places in CAPITALS are regions and nations outside the Polish Kingdom.

f.3: Great Poland in the Polish Kingdom, confessional

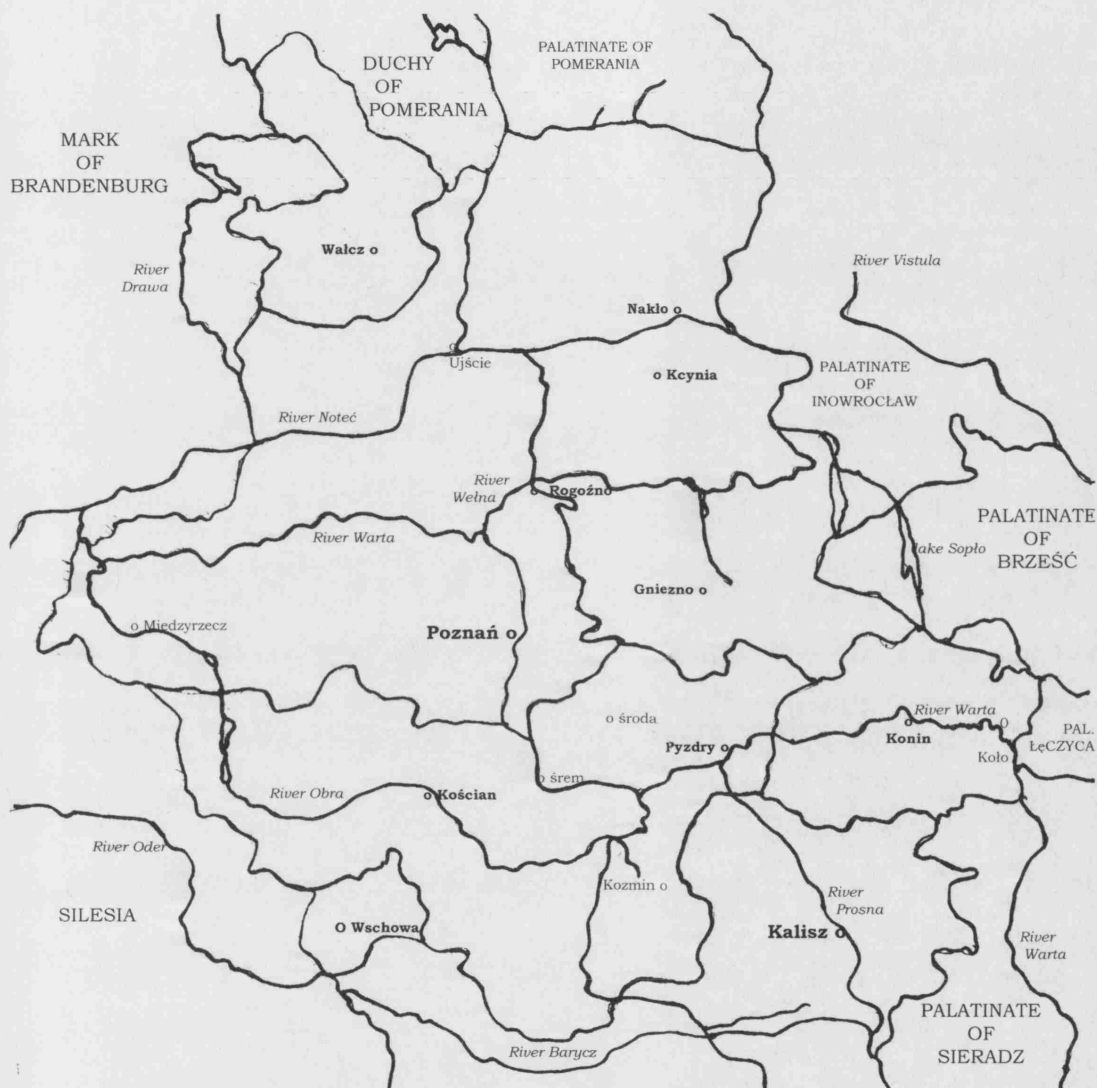
location of church centres and synod sites



The yellow area indicates the six palatinates of Great Poland.
Places in CAPITALS are regions and nations outside the Polish Kingdom.

f.4: Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, 1587-1648 **political**

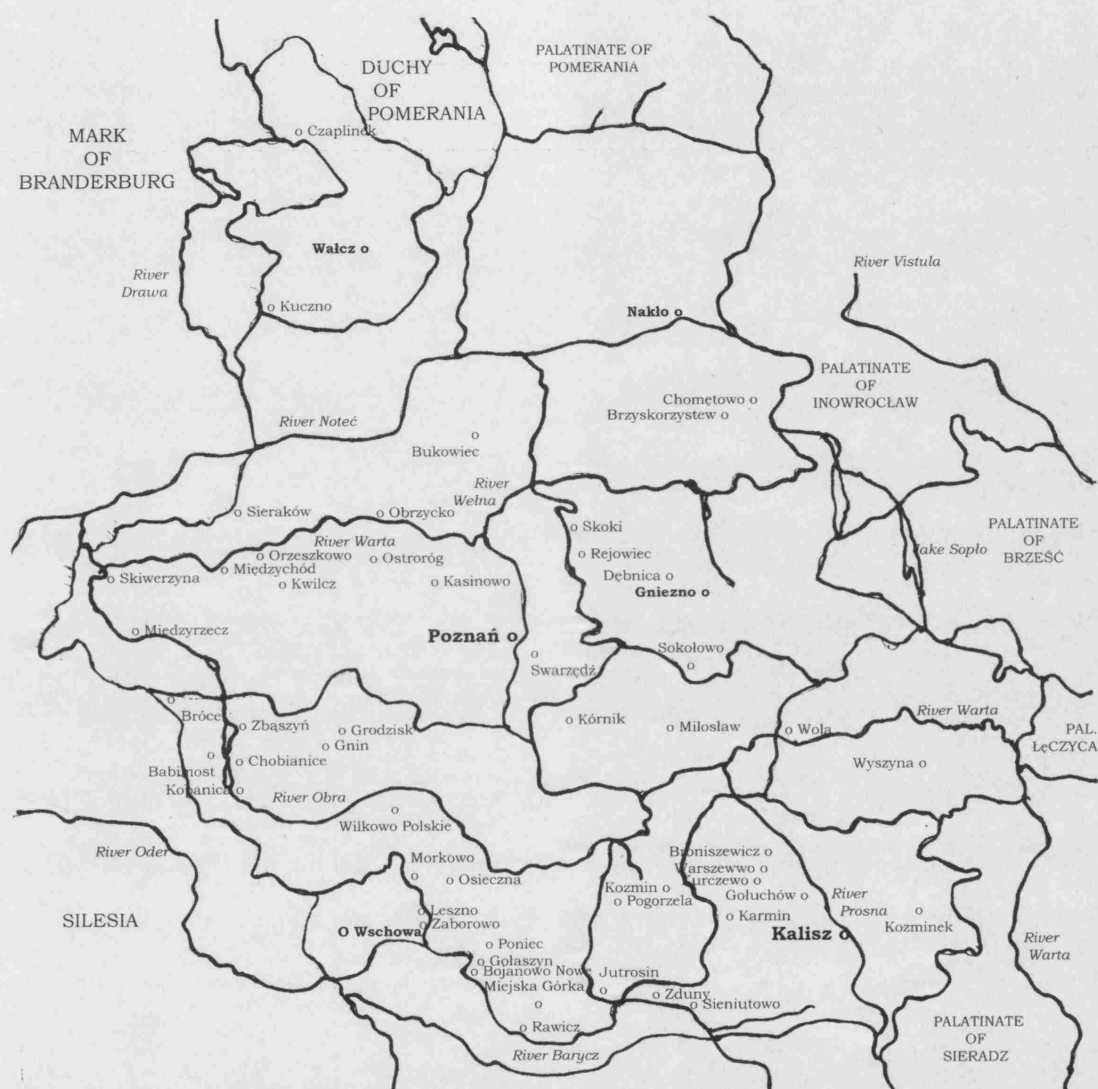
palatinate and district capitals, *gród* court and sejmik locations, key towns



Places in **larger bold** type are palatinate capitals.
Places in **smaller bold** type are district capitals.

f.5: Palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, 1587-1648 confessional

location of dissenter churches and synod sites



Places in **larger bold** type are palatinate capitals.
Places in **smaller bold** type are district capitals.

g) Bibliography

Abbreviations

ABC	Archiwum Braci Czeskich in APMP
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych
APH	<i>Acta Poloniae historica</i>
APMP	Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Poznania
AR	Archiwum Radziwiłłów in AGAD
BC	Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie
BK	Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku
BL	British Library
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa
BO	Biblioteka Ossolińskich
BOZ	Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich
BR	Biblioteka Raczyńskich w Poznaniu
BUW	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
CPH	<i>Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
KH	<i>Kwartalnik historyczny</i>
Kp.	księga kapturowa in APMP
Gr.	księga grodzka in APMP
Mf.	microfilm
MK	Metryka Koronna in AGAD
MS	manuscript
NDAP	Naczelnia Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych
n.p.	no place of publication
n.p.d.	no date or place of publication
OiRwP	<i>Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce</i>
PH	<i>Przegląd historyczny</i>
PP	<i>Przegląd powszechny</i>
PSB	Polski Słownik Biograficzny
PTPN	Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk
RH	<i>Roczniki historyczne</i>
RwP	<i>Reformacja w Polsce</i>
UAM	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
WPSB	Wielkopolski Słownik Biograficzny

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